





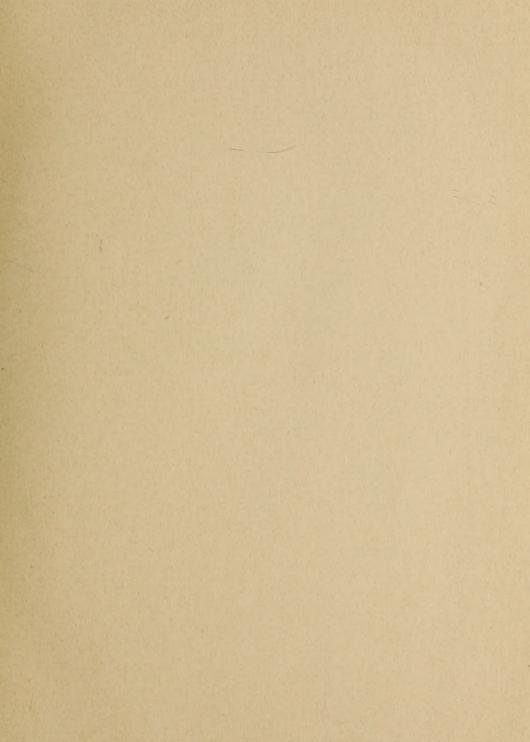
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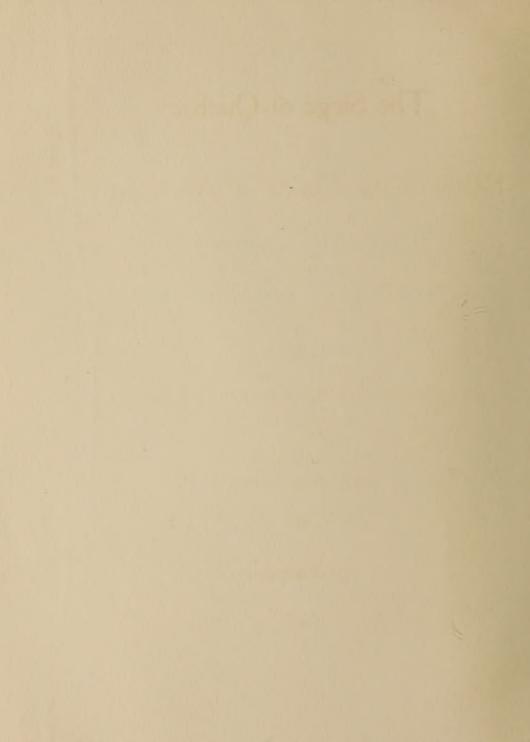




# THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

SIXTH VOLUME



#### Government Edition

### The Siege of Quebec

AND THE

### Battle of the Plains of Abraham

BY

A. DOUGHTY

IN COLLABORATION WITH

G. W. PARMELEE



In six volumes, with Plans, Portraits and Views

APPENDIX PART III
With Bibliography and Index



QUEBEC

Dussault & Proulx
1901



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#### APPENDIX

#### PART III.

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## ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL WOLFE.

#### Letter First.

This letter bears the old-fashioned post-mark "Glasgow, pd. 2d.," and is addressed on the outside thus:

"To Captain RICKSON, of Col. LASCELLE'S Regiment,

"to be left at Lucas's Coffee House.

Dublin, IRELAND."

Part of Wolfe's seal is still adhering.

" Dear Rickson,

When I saw your writing upon the Back of a letter, I concluded it was in consequence of the mandate I sent you by Lt. Herris, of this Regiment (that letter he carried upon your account and mine, not his own, as you will easily discover); but I find myself more in your debt than I expected. Twas your desire to please, and to express the part you take in your friend's good fortune. These were the motives that persuaded you to do what you knew would be agreeable. You'll believe me, when I tell you that, in my esteem, few of what we call advantages in life would be worth acceptance if none were to partake them with us. What a wretch is he who lives for himself alone! his only aim. It is the first degree of happiness here below, that the honest, the brave, and estimable part of mankind, or, at least, some amongst them, share our success. There were several reasons concurring to have sent me into

AP. III-I

Italy, if this had not happened (promotion) to prevent my intentions. One was to avoid the mortifying circumstance of going, a Captain, to Inverness. Disappointed of my sanguine hopes, humbled to an excess, I could not remain in the Army and refuse to do the duty of my office while I staid in Britain. Many things, I thought, were, and still are wanting to my education. Certain never to reap any advantages that way with the Regiment; on the contrary, your barren battalion conversation rather blunts the faculties than improves, my youth and vigour bestowed idly in Scotland; my temper daily changed with discontent; and from a man become martin or a monster."

[Here follows a page relating to private matters, which must be held sacred; but in the course of the confidential and unreserved statements which Wolfe makes to his friend, he incidentally alluded to his age as being then only twenty-two years and three months.]

- "Cornwallis is preparing all things for Nova Scotia; his absence will over-bother me; my stay must be everlasting; and thou know'st, Hal, how I hate compulsion. I'd rather be Major, upon half pay, by my soul! These are all new men to me. and many of them but of low mettle. Besides, I am by no means ambitious of command, when that command obliges me to reside far from my own, surrounded either with flatterers or spies and in a country not at all to my taste. Would to God you had a company in this Regiment, that I might at last find some comfort in your conversation. Cornwallis asks to have Loftus with him. The Duke laughed at the request, and refused him.
- "You know I am but a very indifferent scholar. When a man leaves his studies at fifteen, he will never be justly called a man of letters. I am endeavouring to repair the damages of my education, and have a person to teach me Latin and the mathematics; two hours in a day, for four or five months, this may help me a little.
- "If I were to judge of a country by those just come out of it, Ireland will never be agreeable to me. You are in the midst and see the brightest and most shining, in other than in a soldier's character. I wish it were more pleasing to you than you mention, because probably you will stay there some time.

"The men here are civil, designing and treacherous, with their immediate interests always in view; they pursue trade with warmth and a necessary mercantile spirit, arising from the baseness of their other qualifications. The women, coarse, cold, and cunning, for ever enquiring after men's circumstances. They make that the standard of their good breeding. You may imagine it would not be difficult for me to be pretty well received here, if I took pains, having some of the advantages necessary to recommend me to their favour; but.......

My dear Rickson,

"Your affectionate friend,

" J. WOLFE.

Glasgow, April 2d, 1749."

#### Letter Second

[This letter is dated in 1750, but the place, the outside address and several other parts, are crumbled away. Probably, however, it was still written from Glasgow.]

#### " Dear Rickson.

You were embarked long before I thought you ready for your expedition (to Nova Scotia), and sailed before I could imagine you on board. I intended to have bid you farewell, and sent my good wishes to attend you. Indeed, I was not without hopes of hearing from my friend before he went off; for upon such changes he seldom forgot to make me acquainted with his destination. I am not entirely indifferent as to what befalls you, and should have been glad to know how such an undertaking as this is, agreed with your way of thinking; and whether, after a good deal of service you would not rather have sat down in peace and rest; or if your active spirit prompts you to enterprise, and pushes you to pursuits new and uncommon; whether this, (the expedition) certainly great in its nature, suits your inclination. Since I cannot be clearly informed of these matters till I hear from you, I shall content

myself with entertaining some conjectures that are favourable to your interests. You are happy in a governor; and he'll be happy to have one near him that can be so serviceable to him as you have it in your power to be. I dare say you are on good terms together, and mutual aid will confirm your former friendships. He will require from you industry and assiduity; and, in return you may expect his confidence and trust. I look upon his situation as requiring one of his very way of thinking, before all things else; for to settle a new colony, justice, humanity, and disinterestedness are the high requisites; the rest follows from the excellent nature of our Government, which extends itself in full force to its remotest dependency.

"In what a state of felicity are our American colonies compared to those of other nations; and how blessed are the Americans that are in our neighbourhood above those that border upon the French and Spaniards. A free people cannot oppress; but despotism and bigotry find enemies among the most innocent. It is to the eternal honour of the English nation that we have helped to heal the wound given by the Spaniards to mankind by their cruelty pride and covetousness. Within the influence of our happy Government, all nations are in security. The barrier you are to form, will, if it takes place, strengthen ourselves, protect and support all our adherents; and, as I pretend to have some concern for the general good, and a vast desire to see the propagation of freedom and truth, I am very anxious about the success of this undertaking, and do most sincerely wish that it may have a prosperous issue. I think it is vastly worth your while to apply yourself to business, you that are so well acquainted with it; and, without any compliment, I may venture to assert that Cornwallis has few more capable to do him, and the public, considerable service than yourself.

"I beg you will tell me at large the condition of your affairs and what kind of order there is in your community; the notions that prevail; the method of administering justice; the distribution of lands, and their cultivation; the nations that composed the colony and who are the most numerous; if under military government, how long that is to continue; and what sect in religious affairs is the most prevailing. If ever you advise upon this last subject, remember to be moderate. I suppose the Governor has some sort of council, and should be glad to know what it is composed of. The southern colonies will be concerned in this settle-

ment, and have probably sent some able men to assist you with their advice, and with a proper plan of administration. Tell me likewise what climate you live in, and what soil you have to do with; whether the country is mountainous and woody, or plain; if well watered.

"I see by a map (now before me) that you are between (crumbled away in the letter) of latitude; in most parts of Europe the air is.... degrees, because we are sheltered by the prodigious.... of Norway and Lapland from the north winds. I am afraid you are more exposed; your great cold continent to the north may.... some severe effects upon you. Direct to me at your agent's.... If you think I can serve you, or be of any use, I..... I will send you any thing you have a mind for, when.... directions to have it sent, for I expect.... to go abroad for eight or ten months; do not let the.... prevent you from writing. I set out for London next.... if it is allowed, shall be in less than forty days.... Metz, in Lorraine, where I propose to pass the winter; you will easily guess my aim in that. I intend to ramble in the summer along the Rhine into Switzerland, and back through France and the Netherlands, and perhaps more. I hope you have a good provision of books. Rutherford has published his; and there is a Frenchman has told me many excellent truths, in two volumes entitled, "L'Esprit des Loix," (Montesqieu). It is a piece of writing that would be of great use where you are. Will you have him?

"Tell Cornwallis that I thank him for making me a Lieutenant-Colonel (which, by-the-by, you did not take the least notice of); if I was to rise by his merit, as upon this occasion, I should soon be at the top of the list. He promised to write to some of us, but has not; they are not the less ardent for his prosperity; and the whole corps unites in one common wish for his welfare and success. Pray tell him so, as you may do it safely.

"Your old corps comes back from Gibraltar next summer. Do you know that Conway has got a company over Thompson by Eknis's death? I will correspond constantly with you in whatever part of the world we happen to be thrown, provided you do not force me, by neglect, to leave off writing. We have but this one way left to preserve the remembrance of each other as lively as I could wish, and as I hope you do. The old General (his father), your friend, preserves his health, and is......

he has often wished to have you again in his regiment. Farewell! I am, most affectionately, my dear Rickson,

"Your faithful friend,

"J. WOLFE.

" ..... 1750."

#### Letter Third

"Old Burlington Street, March 19, 1751.

" Dear Rickson,

I writ to you six or eight months ago; but as you took no notice of my letter, I conclude you did not receive it; nay, I'm almost sure you did not receive it, because I ask'd a favour of you which I think you would not have refused me. I desired you to inform me of the condition of your new colony (Nova Scotia). (Which I have much at heart), and was not a little curious to know your particular employment and manner of living. Though I have a deal to say to you, I can't speak it just now, for I'm confin'd in point of time; but as I have the same regard and friendship for you that I always had, I have the same desire to cultivate our good understanding. Write to me, then, and forget nothing that you imagine can give me light into your affairs. I am going to Scotland in ten days; your agent will forward a letter to me there.

"The young gentleman who delivers my letter has served in the regiment with me. Want of precaution, and not want of honesty, obliges him to leave it. You'll learn his story from Cornwallis. I desire you to countenance and assist him a little, and I hope you'll not think any services that you may do him thrown away. May you be healthy and happy. I shall always wish it, with great truth.

I am, dear Rickson,

"Your affectionate friend,

"J. WOLFE".

(This letter has a marking on it—" answered 22d July, 175 . ")

#### Letter Fourth

(Of eleven pages in length).

Banff, 9th June, 1751.

"My dear Friend,

I am prepared to assist you in your apology whenever you think it requisite; but I desire you will never assign that as a reason for not writing, which, in my opinion, should prompt you for it. Attachments between men of certain characters do generally arise from something alike in their natures, and should never fall from a certain degree of firmness, that makes them the same all the world over, and incapable of any diminution. I have (as you justly acknowledge) a perseverance in friendship, that time, nor distance, nor circumstance, can defeat—nay, even neglect can hardly conquer it; and you are just as warm, and as near me, in North America, as you would be upon the spot. I writ to you lately from London, and sent my letter by one that I recommended to you for countenance. I hope what has befallen him will be as a shield against accidents of that sort, for the future. When I writ that letter, your poor friend was in the utmost distress (describes his illness): otherwise you should have had more of me. It is not an hour since I received your letter. I shall answer all the parts of it as they stand in their order; and you see I lose no time, because in a remote and solitary part of the globe ". " (Banff to wit.)" I often experience the infinite satisfaction there is in the only one way that is open to communicate our thoughts, and express that truly unalterable serenity of affection that is found among friends, and nowhere else. I conceive it no less comfortable to you. I believe that no man can have a sincerer regard for you than myself, nor can any man wish to serve and assist you with more ardour: and the disappointment you speak of affects me greatly, and the more. as I have been told that you lived with Cornwallis and, consequently, had some employment near him that must be creditable and profitable. which I imagined you filled, with all the integrity, diligence, and skill, that I know you possessed of. I cannot otherwise account for the preference given to Mr Cotterel than that there has been an early promise. or some prevailing recommendations from England that Cornwallis could not resist. However, if I was Governor, methinks I should choose about my person some experience, and military ability, as requisite

the affairs of a new colony (situated as yours is) as any branch of knowledge whatever. This disappointment is followed by a resolution in you that I approve of greatly, because it will release you from a life that cannot but be disagreeable and place you where you will be well received. But I take it to be a thing much easier conceived than effected; for though I grant that... is a beast, and fit only to hunt the wildest of all the wild Indians, yet, his consent to the change, I doubt, would be very difficult to obtain, though everything else went smoothly on, and you know without it the matter rests. You have done well to write my father. He is extremely disposed to do you any good office, and shall take care to put him in mind, and excite him by all the motives that will touch him nearest, to assist you.

"I thank you for partaking with me in the satisfaction of a promotion. You found your expectations, from my future fortunes, upon the best grounds, my love and thorough sense of your worth; but I would not wish you should wait for my power. I should blush to see myself in the capacity. Take my inclinations and good wishes in the meantime, and believe that whatever falls to my share you will have a demand upon. If you look round and see my powerful rivals and competitors, examine who and what they are; we must both think that a little moderation in our views is very becoming and very consistent with my situation. I believe you are of opinion with me, that a great deal of good fortune has fallen to my share already. I'll tell you only one instance. Megrae and the then Major or your present regiment, were people at the top of the list for Lieutenants-Colonels, and I for Major. Megrae started first, I followed, etc.

"You have given me a very satisfactory account of the settlement as far as you have observed, or have had opportunity to inquire. Till your letter came I understood that we were lords and proprietors of the North coast of Fundy Bay—for there's a vast tract of country between that and the river of St. Lawrence. It appears to me that Acadia (Nova Scotia) is near an island, and the spot where you are a very narrow space between the Gulf and Bay. If so, I conclude your post will be greatly improved; and, instead of the shallow works that you describe, something substantial will be erected, capable of containing a large garrison, with inhabitants trained to arms, in expectation of future wars with France, when I foresee great attempts to be made in your neighbourhood.

When I say this, I mean in North America. I hope it is true what is mentioned in the newspapers, that a strong naval armament is preparing for your assistance. I wish they would increase your regiment with drafts from the troops here. I could send you some very good little soldiers. If our proposal is a good one, I will shorten the work, and lessen the expense. The present schemes of economy (alluding to the ill-considered views of the Duke of Newcastle's administration) are destructive of great undertakings, narrow in the views, and ruinous in the consequence. I was in the House of Commons this winter when great sums of mony were proposed for you, and granted readily enough, but nothing said of any increase of troops. Mr. Pelham (Secretary of State) spoke very faintly upon the subject; wished gentlemen would well weigh the importance of these undertakings before they offered them for public approbation, and seemed to intimate that it might probably produce a quarrel with our everlasting irreconcileable adversary, this I took to be a bad prognostick; a Minister cool in so great an affair, it is enough to freeze up the whole! but perhaps there might be a concealed manœuvre under these appearances, as, in case of accidents, "I am not to blame," "I was forced to carry it on," and so forth; in the mean time I hope they are vigorous in supporting our claims. The country is in all shapes better than we imagined it, and the climate less severe; the extent of our territory perhaps, won't take a vast deal of time to clear; the woods you speak of are, I suppose, to the West of Sheganecto, and within the limits that the French ascribe for themselves, and usurp. Yours is now the dirtiest, as well as the most insignificant and unpleasant branch of military operations; no room for courage and skill to exert itself, no hope of ending it by a decisive blow and a perpetual danger of assassination; these circumstances discourage the firmest mind. Brave men, when they see the least room for conquest, think it easy, and generally make it so; but they grow impatient with perpetual disadvantages. I think Bartloo is a loss; his loggerhead was fit enough for these kind of expeditions, and would save much fatigue to better men. I should imagine that two or three independent Highland companies might be of use; they are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to a rough country, and no great mischief if they fall, here in the midst of Popery and Jacobitism, surrounded on every side as I am with this itchy race. I don't understand what is meant by the wooden forts at Halifax. I have a poor conceit of wooden fortifications, and would wish to have them changed for

a rampart of earth, the rest in time; it is probable that the great attention that must be given at first to building the habitations and clearing the ground about the town left no interval for other work; but I hope to hear, in your next letter, that our principal city (Halifax) is considerably improved in strength. You, gentlemen, too, with your parapet three or four feet thick, that a heavy shower would dissolve, you ought to increase it and put yourselves into a state of security. You appear to be the barrier and bulwark of our settlements on the land, and should be lodged in a sufficient fortress, and with an eye to enterprise. I understand, by your account, that the post you occupy is at a very small distance from the end of the Bay; and should be glad to know how far that is from the nearest part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or from what (in the map) appears to be a lake, or harbour communicating with that Gulf. I rejoice much that you commanded that detachment with which your Lieutenant-Colonel marched; the Indians might have had courage, in that case you would have overcome them in battle under the eye of your chief; as it was, he saw you well disposed to fight—perhaps I am talking at random, but it is conformable to the idea I have of this Colonel Lawrence, whose name we often see in the papers. I suppose him to be amongst the first officers of the expedition, high-minded himself, and a judge of it in others; his ready march to the enemy marks the first, and his being the head of your undertaking gives one an opinion of his judgment. If 'tis to his advantage, I desire you to let me have his character at full length; perhaps there's a strong mixture, as it generally happens in ardent men-in that case let's have the best fully, and the other slightly touched. I am mighty sorry that you are not so linked in with some of your brethren as to form an intimacy and confidence; without it, the world is a solitude, and what must your part of it be? I pity you very heartily, for I am sure you are very ready to mingle with a good disposition. 'Tis doubly a misfortune to be banished without the relief of books, or possibility of reading; the only amends that can be made to us that are sequestered in the lonely and melancholy spots, is that we can fill up part of our time with study. When I am in Scotland I look upon myself as an exile—with respect to the inhabitants I am so, for I dislike 'em much; 'tis then I pick up my best store, and try to help an indifferent education, and slow faculties, and I can say that I have really acquired more knowledge that way, than in all my former life. I would, by all means, have you get home before the next winter, but I

dont't approve in the least of the resolution you seem to have taken, rather than continue in that service. Do every thing in your power to change, but don't leave the army, as you must, when you go upon halfpay. If there's any female in the case, any reasonable scheme for marriage, I have nothing to say; that knocks down all my arguments; they have other sorts of passions to support them. In reality, the most I can offer (were you unbiassed) would not amount to weighty matter, for I see no early appearance whereon to mould a bait for your ambition; yet I cannot consent to your leaving us entirely, in the hopes of fairer days. If I did not love you personally, and wish your happiness very heartily, I should advise you to stay where you are, and would say you ought to be kept there; and give, as a reason for saying so, that I do think the infancy of a colony has need of able hands, civil and military, to sustain it, and I should be for sacrificing you and all the men of worth, to the general good. You speak of a Mr Brewse, the engineer; pray, say a word or two of his capacity, and tell me if there are amongst you any connoisseurs in that business.

"Is the Island of St. John in the possession of the French, or do we occupy it? It would be unpardonable in me if I omitted to send you intelligence of what is stirring amonst us; I mean if I kept from you any thing that comes to my knowledge, but in truth we are here almost as much in the dark as to public transactions as can be conceived; however, I picked up some account of the Act for settling the Regency, and as, perhaps, you have not seen it, it will be well worth your perusal, it is a subject of no small importance—as follows:—That the Princess of Wales (mother of the future George the Third, then a minor), is to be guardian of the Prince of Wales (George Third, whose father, Frederick, was dead), or any other of her children who shall be heirs to the Crown, and also sole Regent of the Kingdom, in case of the King's demise. (old George Second) before any of them arrived at the age of 18 (then follows the analysis of the statute). I believe you'll think, as most people seem to do, that the act is judicious and well-timed, and the supreme power properly limited.

"Three large ships of war (Guard ships) are sailed with the Scotch Fusileers and Conway's regiments to relieve the king's and Skelton's, and they, as we hear, are to march directly into Scotland, which, by-theby, is a little out of the way, to carry them from the hottest immediately to the coldest part of the King's dominions; if they come, our regiment, goes to Inverness, where I shall remain all the winter; if one only comes, or neither, I go to Aberdeen. Loftus and Donnellan are both in England, the former had been dangerously ill, is a little recovered. Donnellan too, has been out of order, and is gone to Bristol for health.

"I am not sure whether I mentioned it or not in my last letter, but as it is great grief to me, I will hazard the repetition to tell it you. I got powerful people to ask the Duke (Cumberland) no less than three times, for leave to go abroad, and he absolutely refused me that necessary indulgence: this I consider as a very unlucky incident, and very discouraging; moreover, he accompanied his denial with a speech that leaves no hope—that a Lieutenant-Colonel was an officer of too high a rank to be allowed to leave his regiment for any considerable time—this is a dreadful mistake, and if obstinately pursued, will disgust a number of good intentions, and preserve that prevailing ignorance of military affairs that has been so fatal to us in all our undertakings, and will be for ever so, unless other measures are pursued. We fall every day lower and lower from our real characters, and are so totally engaged in everything that is minute and trifling, that one would almost imagine the idea of war was extinguished amongst us; they will hardly allow us to recollect the little service we have seen; that is to say, the merit of things seem to return into their old channel, and he is the brightest in his profession that is the most impertinent, talks loudest, and knows least. I repeat it again to you that poor Porter left this regiment with the approbation of all his brethren and with the reputation of honesty and upright behaviour—it will be a charitable thing to do him any good office.

"I went to London in November, and came back by the middle of April.....

"My father has offered money for the prettiest-situated house in England, and I believe he will have it for about £3,000. It is a great sum to be so employed; but as it procures him the pleasure he likes, and a fine air, it is well laid out; it looks as if he intended to sell or let his house, (a few words crumbled away) since the other is upon Blackheath, the new bridge.....his way easily to St. James's, which it will be.

"J. W."

(Indorsed-"Answered 6th November, 1751, by the Torrington.")

#### Letter Fifth

[An interval of three years. His friend was now stationed at Fort Augustus, Inverness-shire.]

#### " Dear Rickson,

I was obliged to Governor Trapaud for intelligence of my little friend; and, though I cannot rejoice much in your present situation, yet I think you will make yourself and your acquaintance easy and happy wherever you are. The Governor said you intended to write; let me desire you to put so good a resolve into quick execution, and tell me how it fares with you in that remote quarter. I admire the goodness of Providence in this one thing (amongst thousands that are worthy of admiration), that, in whatever situation a man happens to be placed, the mind is so framed that it works itself out some occupation, and finds something or other to make a pleasure of; supposing that no distant object has taken violently hold of one's affections, or that we are unreasonably bent upon some absent imagined satisfaction. Trapaud thinks he is very happy in having you with him, and I think so too. Pray, how do you think upon the matter? and what sort of life do you lead?

"I shall be here a month or six weeks longer, within which time I hope to learn good tidings of you from yourself. I heartily wish you well. I am, my dear friend,

"Your affectionate and faithful servant.

"JAMES WOLFE."

<sup>&</sup>quot;Exeter, 9th December, 1754."

#### Letter Sixth

(His friend was still at Fort Augustus.)

" My dear Friend,

Just as I received your letter, the drum beat to arms, and we have been in a bustle ever since. Now that it is become a little calm again, I will gather my wits together, and collect my friendly sentiments (a little dispersed with the sound of war), to answer it. Be so good, for the time to come, to presume with yourself that you have a right to correspond with me whenever you please and as often; and be persuaded that you cannot do me a greater pleasure than by writing to me. I want to persuade you that neither time, nor distance, nor different fortunes, either has, or ever will, make the least alteration in my affection towards your little person; and that, in all probability, I shall die as much your friend as I have lived, whether at the end of one or twenty years, of which disposition in me, if I had opportunity to convince you, you should have sufficient proof. Though I know how reasonable and philosophic a man you are, yet I shall not allow you quite as much merit as I should to another in your situation. The remembrance of Nova Scotia makes Fort Augustus a paradise; your sufferings there will be no small aid to your contentment, for nothing can well happen of greater trial than what you have already overcome.

- "Since I began my letter to you, yesterday, there's a fresh and a loud report of war. More ships are ordered to be fitted out; and we must expect further preparations suited to the greatness of the occasion. You in the North will be now and then alarmed. Such a succession of errors, and such a strain of ill behaviour as the last Scotch war (the rebellion of 1745) did produce, can hardly, I believe, be matched in history. Our future annals will, I hope, be filled with more stirring events.
- "What if the garrisons of the Forts had been under the orders of a prudent, resolute man (yourself for instance), would not they have found means to stifle the rebellion in its birth? and might not they have acted more like soldiers and good subjects than it appears they did? What would have been the effects of a sudden march into the middle of that clan who were the first to move? What might have been done by means

of hostages of wives and children, or the chiefs themselves? How easy a small body united, prevents the junction of distant corps; and how favourable the country where you are for such a manœuvre, if notwithstanding all precautions they get together, a body of troops may make a diversion, by laying waste a country that the male inhabitants have left, to prosecute rebellious schemes. How soon must they return to the defence of their property—such as it is—their wives, their children, their houses, and their cattle?

"But above all, the secret, sudden night-march into the midst of them; great patrols of 50, 60, or 100 men each, to terrify them; letters to the chiefs, threatening fire and sword, and certain destruction if they dare to stir; movements that seem mysterious, to keep the enemy's attention upon you, and their fears awake; these and the like, which your experience, reading, and good sense would point out, are means to prevent mischief.

"If one was to ask what preparations were made for the defence of the forts? I believe they would be found very insufficient. There are some things that are absolutely necessary for an obstinate resistance—and such there always should be against rebels—as tools, fascines, turf or sods, arms for the breach (long spontoons or halberds), palisades innumerable; whole trees, converted into that use, stuck in the ditch to hinder an assault. No one of these articles was thought of, either at Fort Augustus or Fort George; and, in short, nothing was thought of but how to escape from an enemy most worthy of contempt. One vigorous sortie would have raised the seige of Fort Augustus; 100 men would have nailed up the battery, or carried the artillery into the castle.

"I wish you may be beseiged in the same manner; you will put a speedy end to the rebellion, and foil their arms in the first attempt; les Messieurs de Guise se sont très mal comporté! If there's war, I hope the General in the North will not disperse the troops by small parties, as has been practised hitherto; but rather make choice of certain good stations for bodies that can defend themselves, or force their way home (to the forts) if occasion require it. At Laggan Achadrem, for example, they should build a strong redoubt, surrounded with rows of palisades, and trees, capable to contain 200 men at least. This is a post of great importance and should be maintained in a most determined manner, and

the MacDonalds might knock their heads against it to very little purpose.

- "Old doting Humphrey, who is newly married, I find will be a good deal occupied at home, and fondly no doubt; so you must not expect much aid from that quarter; there's our weak side.
- "Mr McPherson should have a couple of hundred men in his neighbourhood, with orders to massacre the whole clan if they shew the least symptom of rebellion. They are a warlike tribe and he is a cunning, resolute fellow himself. They should be narrowly watched; and the party there should be well commanded.
- "Trapaud will have told you that I tried to take hold of that famous man with a very small detachment. I gave the sergeant orders in case he should succeed, and was attacked by the clan with a view to rescue their chief to kill him instantly which I concluded would draw on the destruction of the detachment (1) and furnish me with a sufficient pretext (without waiting for any instructions) to march into their country où j'aurais fait main basse, sans miséricorde. Would you believe that I am so bloody, It was my real intention, and I hope such execution will be done upon the first that revolt, to teach them their duty and keep the Highlands in awe. They are a people better governed by fear than favour.
- "My little governor talked to me, some time ago, of a parcel of musket-balls that belonged to us which he offered to send us. We fire bullets continually, and have great need of them; but, as I foresee much difficulty and expense in the removal, I wish he would bestow them or a part, upon you; and let me recommend the practice, you'll soon find the advantage of it. Marksmen are nowhere so necessary as in a mountainous country; besides, firing balls at objects teaches the soldiers to level incomparably, makes the recruits steady, and removes the foolish apprehension that seizes young soldiers when they first load their arms with bullets. We fire, first singly, then by files, 1, 2, 3, or more, then by ranks, and lastly by platoons; and the soldiers see the effects of their shot especially at a mark, or upon water. We shoot obliquely, and

<sup>(1)</sup> The passage in italics was omitted when the letter was first published, about sixty years ago.

in different situations of ground, from heights downwards, and contrarywise. I use the freedom to mention this to you, not as one prescribing to another, but to a friend who may accept or reject; and because, possibly it may not have been thought of by your commander, and I have experience of its great utility.

- "I have not been in London all this winter. If the state of our affairs had permitted it, I should certainly have waited upon your sister. You could not propose a thing more agreeable to me; for I think I must necessarily love all your kindred, at least all that love you. I hope she has recovered the hurt occasioned by that unlucky accident.
- "Pray ask Trap, if he knows anything of Lady Culloden, how she is as to health? for I have a particular esteem for her, am obliged to her for civilities shewn me, and interest myself in her welfare. She seemed, poor lady, to be in a very ill state of health when I was in that country.
- "I could pass my time very pleasantly at Fort Augustus upon your plan and with your assistance. There is no solitude with a friend.
- "I hope to hear from you now and then, as your inclination prompts or your leisure allows; the oftener the better. I wish you all manner of good, and am truly my dear friend,

Your faithful and affectionate Servant,

" I. W."

"Exeter, 7th March, 1755.

- "My compliments to Mrs Trapaud and the Governor.
- "I was interrupted in the beginning of the letter, and the post came in from London before I began afresh".

#### Letter Seventh

[Addressed to Captain Rickson, Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Lord George Beauclerk, at Inverness, Scotland. A portion of Wolfe's Seal is still adhering to this letter.]

My dear Friend,

If I had not been well convinced by your letter that you needed not my council to guide you, and that the steps you were taking were prudent and sensible beyond what I could advise, you should have heard from me something sooner; for the public service and your honour and welldoing are matters of high concern to me. I am sorry that I cannot take to myself the merit of having served you upon this occasion. I would have done it if it had been in my power; but I knew nothing of your new employment till Calcraft mentioned it to me. You are, I believe, so well in the Duke's opinion that Mr Fox (father of the celebrated Charles James) had no difficulty to place you where you now are, and where, I am fully persuaded, you will acquit yourself handsomely. To study the character of your General, to conform to it, and by that means to gain his esteem and confidence, are such judicious measures that they cannot fail of good effects. If I am not mistaken, Lord George is a very eventempered man, and one that will hearken to a reasonable proposal. If the French resent the affront put upon them by Mr Boscawen, the war will come on hot and sudden; and they will certainly have an eye to the Highlands. Their friends and allies in that country were of great use to them in the last war. That famous diversion cost us great sums of money and many lives, and left pais bas to Saxe's mercy. I am much of your opinion, that, without a considerable aid of foreign troops the Highlanders will never stir. I believe their resentments are strong, and the spirit of revenge prevalent amongst them; but the risk is too great without help; however, we ought to be cautions and vigilant. We ought to have good store of meal in the forts to feed the troops in the winter, in case they be wanted; plenty of intrenching tools and hatchets, for making redoubts, and cutting palisades, etc., and we should be cautious not to expose the troops in small parties, dispersed through the Highlands when there is the least apprehension of a commotion; a few well-chosen posts in the middle of those clans that are likeliest to rebel, with a force sufficient to intrench and defend themselves and with positive orders never to surrender to the Highlanders (though ever so numerous) but either to resist in their posts till relieved, or force their way through to the forts, would, I think, have lively effects. A hundred soldiers, in my mind, are an overmatch for five hundred of your Highland milice; and when they are told so, in a proper way, they believe it themselves.

- "It will be your business to know the exact strength of the rebel clans, and to inquire into the abilities of their leaders, especially of those that are abroad. There are people that inform you. There ought to be an engineer at the forts to inform the General of what will be wanted for their defence, and to give directions for the construction of small redoubts where the general pleases to order them.
- "Nobody can say what is to become of us as yet. If troops are sent into Holland, we expect to be amongst the first, We are quartered at Winchester and Southampton; but turned out for the Assizes. The fleet at Spithead expects orders to sail every hour. They are commanded by Sir E. Hawke, who has the admirals Bing and West to assist him. There are about 30 great ships, and some frigates, the finest fleet, I believe, that this nation ever put to sea, and excellently well manned. The marines embarked yesterday, to the number, I suppose, of about 1,000 men; others will be taken up at Plymouth if they are wanted. Bockland's are to disembark. I imagine they are aboard by this time.
- "I am distresed about my poor old mother, who has been in a very dangerous way. She is the only woman that I have any great concern about at this time.
- "I lodged with a Mrs Grant (this was while Wolfe was at Inverness) who, perhaps, you know. She was very careful of me, and very obliging. If you see her, it will be doing me a pleasure if you will say that I remember it.
- "Do you know Mrs Forbes of Culloden? I have a particular respect and esteem for that lady. She shewed me a good deal of civility while I lay in the North. If you are acquainted, pray make my best compliments to her, and let me know how she is as to her health.
  - " Au rest, you must be so kind to write now and then and I will be

punctual to answer, and give any intelligence of what is doing where I happen to be.

"A letter directed for me at General Wolfe's at Black Heath, Kent, will be forwarded to the remotest regions.

I am, my dear friend, Your affectionate and faithful Servant,

" JAMES WOLFE."

"Lymington, 19th July, 1755."

#### Letter Eighth

[A gap of two years. By this time his friend was acting Deputy-Quarter-Master-General of Scotland, at Edinburgh.]

" My dear Rickson,

Though I have matter enough and pleasure enough in writing a long letter, yet I must now be short. Your joy upon the occasion of my new employment I am sure is very sincere, as is that which I feel when any good thing falls to your share; but this new Office does neither please nor flatter me, as you may believe when I tell you that it was offered with the rank of Colonel, which the King, guided by the Duke (Cumberland) afterwards refused. His Royal Highness's reasons were plausible; he told the Duke of Bedford (who applied with warmth) that I was so young a Lieutenant-Colonel, that it could not be done immediately—but I should have known it in time that I might have excused myself from a very troublesome business which is quite out of my way. (What does this relate to?) I am glad you succeeded so happily, and got so soon rid of unpleasant guests, and ill to serve; it is ever the case that an unruly collection of raw men are ten times more troublesome than twice as many who know obedience. We are about to undertake something or other at a distance, and I am one of the party. (This relates to the subsequent unlucky descent on Rochefort). I can't flatter you with a lively picture of my hopes as to the success of it; the reasons are so strong against us (the English) in whatever we take in hand, that I

never expect any great matter; the chiefs, the engineers, and our wretched discipline, are the great and insurmountable obstructions. I doubt yet if there be any fixed plan; we wait for American intelligence, from whence the best is not expected, and shall probably be put into motion by that intelligence. I myself take the chance of a profession little understood and less liked in this country. I may come off as we have done before; but I never expect to see either the poor woman my mother, or the old General, again; she is at present dangerously ill; he is infirm with age. Whether my going may hurry their departure, you are as good a judge as I am. Besides their loss I have not a soul to take charge of my little affairs, and expect to find everything in the utmost confusion, robbed and plundered by all that can catch hold of them.

"I heartily wish you were fixed in the employment you now exercise; but, if David Watson is not misrepresented to me, you have everything to fear from his artifices and double dealing. I wish I was strong enough to carry you through, I'd take you upon my back; but my people are away. Calcraft could serve you—no man better. He is the second or third potentate in this realm.

"I may have an opportunity of speaking to Napier, but there Watson governs almost alone; and we are not sharp enough to dive into the hearts of men. The nephew goes with us. I must have succumbed under the weight of some characters of this sort if I had not stood out in open defiance of their wicked powers. A man will not be ill-used that will not bear it. Farewell, my honest little friend. I am ever your

" Faithful and affectionate Servant,

"JAMES WOLFE."

" London, 21st July, 1757."

(Marked, "Answered 2nd Aug., 1757.")

#### Letter Ninth

(This letter was written immediately after Wolfe's return from the unlucky descent on Rochefort, in which he was one of no less than seven

naval and military officers, among whom the command was frittered away).

(Addressed "Captain Rickson, Deputy-Quarter-Master-General of Scotland, at Edinburgh").

#### " Dear Rickson.

I thank you very heartily for your welcome back. I am not sorry that I went, notwitstanding what has happened; one may always pick up something useful from amongst the most fatal errors. I have found out that an Admiral should endeavour to run into an enemy's port immediately after he appears before it; that he should anchor the transport ships and frigates as close as can be to the land; that he should reconnoitre and observe it as quick as possible, and lose no time in getting the troops on shore; that previous directions should be given in respect to landing the troops, and a proper disposition made for the boats of all sorts, appointing leaders and fit persons for conducting the different divisions. On the other hand, experience shews me that, in an affair depending upon vigour and despatch, the generals should settle their plan of operations, so that no time may be lost in idle debate and consultations, when the sword should be drawn; that pushing on smartly is the road to success, and more particularly so in an affair of this nature—(a surprise) that nothing it to be reckoned an obstacle to your undertaking, which is not found really so upon tryal; that in war something must be allowed to chance and fortune, seeing it is in its nature hazardous, and an option of difficulties; that the greatness of an object should come under consideration, opposed to the impediments that lie in the way; that the honour of one's country is to have some weight, and that, in particular circumstances and times the loss of 1,000 men is rather an advantage to a nation than otherwise, seeing that gallant attempts raise its reputation, and make it respectable; whereas the contrary appearances sink the credit of a country, ruin the troops, and create infinite uneasiness and discontent at home. I know not what to , or how to account for our proceedings, unless I sav, my dear R own to you that there never was people collected together so unfit for the business they were sent upon-dilatory, ignorant, irresolute and some grains of a very unmanly quality and very unsoldier-like or unsailorlylike. I have already been too imprudent: I have said too much and

people make me say ten times more than I ever uttered; therefore repeat nothing out of my letter nor name my name as the author of any one thing. The whole affair turned upon the impraticability of escalading Rochefort; and the two evidences brought to prove that the ditch was wet (in opposition to the assertions of the chief engineer, who had been in the place), are persons to whom, in my mind, very little credit should be given; without these evidences we must have landed and must have marched to Rochefort; and it is my opinion that the place would have surrendered or have been taken in forty-eight hours. It is certain that there was nothing in all that country to oppose 9,000 good foot—a million of Protestants, upon whom it is necessary to keep a strict eye, so that the garrisons could not venture to assemble against us, and no troops except the Militia within any moderate distance of these parts.

- "Little practice in war, ease and convenience at home, great incomes, and no wants, with no ambition to stir to action, are not the instruments to work a successful war withal; I see no prospect of better deeds; I know not where to look for them, or from whom we may expect them.
- "Many handsome things would have been done by the troops had they been permitted to act; as it is, Captain Howe carried off all the honour of this enterprise it, notwithstanding what that scribbling been pleased to lie about that fort and the attack of it.
- "This disaster in North America (1) unless the French have driven from their anchors in the harbour of Louisbourg, is of the most fatal kind; whatever diminishes our naval force tends to our ruin and destruction. God forbid that any accident should befall our fleet in the bay. The Duke's resignation may be reckoned an addition to our misfortunes; he acted a right part, but the country will suffer by it.

Yours, my dear Rickson,

Very affectionately,

" J. W."

- "Black Heath, 5th Nov., 1757.
- "The General and my mother are both gone to the Baths.

<sup>(1)</sup> This relates to the capture by the French of Fort-William Henry, on the south side of Lake George, with all the artillery, vessels and boats,

"The King has given me the rank of Colonel."

#### Letter Tenth

[His friend was still Deputy-Quarter-Master-General of Scotland, at Edinburgh.]

"Dear Rickson,

Calcraft told me he had prepared a memorial for you and was to give it in to Sir John Ligonier. I had apprised Col. Hotham, the Deputy-Adjutant-General and had bespoke his assistance. Hotham assured me two days ago that he has not seen the memorial, and wonders it was not presented. Calcraft must have some reasons for the delay, which I will inquire into to-morrow; and if he has any difficulties about it, I will carry it myself. My services in this matter and my credit with the reigning powers are not worth your acceptance; but such as they allow it to be, you are as welcome to as any living man. I can assure you that "Davie" (Watson) is double, and would shove you aside to make way for a tenth cousin; it becomes my Lord G. Beauclerk, (then Commanderin-Chief in Scotland) to confirm you in your office by asking and procuring a commission. If he is satisfied with your management, it is his duty to do it; these mealy chiefs give up their just rights and with them their necessary authority. The Commander in Scotland is the fittest person to recommend, and the best judge of the merits of those that serve under him. Though to all appearance I am in the very centre of business. yet nobody (from the indolent inattention of my temper) knows less of what is going on where I myself am not concerned. The proceedings in Parliament, intrigues of the parties, and the management of public affairs, are as much unknown to me as the business of a divan or seraglio. I live amongst men without desiring to be acquainted with their

on 9th August, 1757, about three months prior to Wolfe's letter. The Governor, Monro, had a garrison of 3,000 men, and there was a covering army of 4,000 besides, under General Webb, but the latter by the most unpardonable neglect and obstinacy would not advance to Monro's assistance, who had accordingly to capitulate. Well might Wolfe speak of it as a great "disaster."

concerns; things have their ordinary course, and I pass on with the current unheeding. Being of the profession of arms, I would seek all occasions to serve; and, therefore, have thrown myself in the way of the American War, though I know that the very passage threatens my life (alluding to his indifferent health), and that my constitution must be utterly ruined and undone; and this from no motive either of avarice or ambition. I expect to embark in about a fortnight. I wish you success in your affairs, health and peace. I am, dear Rickson, your affectionate and faithful servant,

" JAMES WOLFE."

"Blackheath, 12th January, 1758."

(Wolfe's seal is still adhering to this letter it is the figure of a human head, with a fillet of laurel, gathered into a knot behind.)

#### Letter Eleventh

[Written on the eve of sailing from Portsmouth, on the expedition against Louisbourg.]

" Dear Rickson,

The title of Brigadier (Pitt had conferred it on him), which extends to America only, has no other advantage than throwing me into service in an easy manner for myself, and such as my constitution really requires; our success alone will determine the more solid favours, for it is possible to deserve very well, and to be extremely ill received. The state of public affairs is such that some measures must be pursued which prudence or military knowledge, perhaps, might not dictate. We shall have (if accident don't prevent it) a great force this year in America, and the country has a right to expect some powerful efforts proportioned to the armaments. Success is in the hands of Providence, but it is in every man's own power to do his part handsomely. I did not know that Barré was your friend, nor even your acquaintance (this is one of the supposed authors of the celebrated letters of Junius). Now that I do know it, I shall value him the more upon that account; by accident I heard of his

worth and good sense and shall have, I trust, good reason to thank the man that mentioned him. Nay, I am already overpaid by the little I did, by drawing out of his obscurity so worthy a gentleman; I never saw his face till very lately, nor never spoke ten words to him before I venture to propose him as a Major of Brigade. You may be sure that my information came from the best hands.

"I wish your success most heartily; it would be a lasting satisfaction to me if I had power to forward it; you must give me leave to tell you, which indeed I should not do, that I have pressed it warmly to Lord G. Sackville, who has at present the power in his hands; I tried the Field Marshal (Lord Ligioner, who had succeeded the Duke of Cumberland, as Commander-in-Chief) but I have little weight there, and for your sake, I wish I had more with Lord George. Write me, now and then, a letter; with all the Scotch news, and your own sentiments upon things as they fall out. Calcraft will forward your letters, and they will be received as so many marks of your affection and remembrance. We embark in three or four days. Barré and I have the great apartment of a three decked ship to revel in; but with all this space and this fresh air, I am sick to death. Time, I suppose, will deliver me from these sufferings; though, in former trials, I never could overcome it. I thank you for your kind wishes, and return them most sincerely.

I am, ever, my dear Friend,

"Your faithful and affectionate Servant,

" JAMES WOLFE."

"Portsmouth, 7th February, 1758."

# Letter Twelfth and Last

[Written after Wolfe's return to England, from the capture of Louisbourg.]

" My dear Friend,

Your letter dated in September, as well as the last you did me the favour to write, are both received, and with the greatest satisfaction. I

do not reckon that we have been fortunate this year in America. Our force was so superior to the enemy's, that we might hope for greater success; but it pleased the Disposer of all Things to check our presumption, by permitting Mr Abercromby to hurry on that precipitate attack of Ticonderago, in which he failed with loss. By the situation of that fort, by the superiority of our naval force there, and by the strength of our army, which could bear to be weakened by detachments, it seems to me to have been no very difficult matter to have obliged the Marquis de Montcalm to have laid down his arms and consequently to have given up all Canada. In another circumstance, too, we may be reckoned unlucky. The squadron of men-of-war under De Chafferult failed in their attempt to get into the harbour of Louisbourg, where inevitably they would have shared the fate of those that did, which must have given an irretrievable blow to the marine of France, and delivered Quebec into our hands, if we chose to go up and demand it. Amongst ourselves, be it said, that our attempt to land where we did, (alluding to the Louisbourg affair) was rash and injudicious, our success unexpected (by me) and undeserved. There was no prodigious exertion of courage in the affair; an officer and thirty men would have made it impossible to get ashore where we did. Our proceedings in other respects were as slow and tedious as this undertaking was ill advised and desperate; but this for your private information only. We lost time at the siege, still more after the siege, and blundered from the beginning to the end of the campaign. My Lord Howe's death (who was truly a great man) (he was killed in a skirmish in the woods, connected with the repulse of the British in their attack on Ticonderago) left the army upon the continent without life or vigour; this defeat at Ticonderago seemed to stupify us that were at Louisbourg: if we had taken the first hint of that repulse, and sent early and powerful succours, things would have taken perhaps a different turn in those parts before the end of October. I expect every day to hear that some fresh attempts have been made at Ticonderago, and I can't flatter myself that they have succeeded; not from any high idea of the Marquis de Montcalm's abilities, but from the very poor opinion of our own. You have obliged me much with this little sketch of that important spot; till now I have been but ill-acquainted with it.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Broadstreet's coup was masterly. (1) He is a very extraordinary

<sup>(1) &</sup>quot;This refers to the surprise and capture of the important French

man; and if such an excellent officer as the late Lord Howe had the use of Broadstreet's uncommon diligence and activity, and unparalled batoe knowledge, it would turn to a good public account. When I went from hence, Lord Ligonier told me that I was to return at the end of the campaign; but I have learned since I came home, that an order is gone to keep me there; and I have this day signified to Mr Pitt that he may dispose of my slight carcase as he pleases, and that I am ready for any undertaking within the reach and compass of my skill and cunning. I am in a very bad condition both with the gravel and rheumatism, but I had much rather die than decline any kind of service that offers; if I followed my own taste, it would lead me into Germany, and if my poor talent was consulted, they should place me to the cavalry, because nature has given me good eyes, and a warmth of temper to follow the first impressions. However, it is not our part to choose, but to obey.

"My opinion is, that I shall join the army in America, where if fortune favours our force and best endeavours, we may hope to triumph.

"I have said more than enough of myself; it is time to turn a little to your affairs; nothing more unjust than the great rank lately thrown away upon little men, and the good servants of the state neglected.

Not content with frequent solicitations in your behalf, I writ a letter just before I embarked, putting my Lord George Sackville in mind of you, and requesting his protection; his great business, or greater partialities, has made him overlook your just pretensions.

"If you come to town in January, I shall be there, and will do you all the service I amable, but Lord Ligonier seems particularly determined not to lay the weight of any one obligation on me; so you may hold my

Fort, Frontenac, on the North, or French side of the St Lawrence, where it issues from Lake Ontario, by Lieut. Colonel Broadstreet, who had been sent against it by General Abercromby, with a detachment of 3,000 provincials. This able officer destroyed the Fort, with 60 pieces of cannon, 16 mortars, an immense depôt of provisions for the French Army; took all the enemy's shipping on the Lake, consisting of 9 vessels, some of them mounting 18 guns, and rejoined Abercromby, all without the loss of a man. Wolfe's compliment to him was well merited."

good inclination in higher value than my power to assist. You have my best wishes, and I am, truly,

" My dear friend, your faithful and obedient servant,

"JAMES WOLFE."

- "Salisbury, 1st December, 1758.
  - " Remember that I am Brigadier in America, and Colonel in Europe.
- "Barré was in such favour with General Amherst that he took him to the Continent, and he very well deserves his esteem."

## Extracts from Wolfe's letters to his parents.

Glasgow 13th Augt. 1749 (to his mother) Extract.

"This is Sunday, and we are just now come from church. I have observed your instructions so religiously that, rather than want the Word, I got the reputation of a very good Presbyterian by frequenting the Kirk of Scotland, till our Chaplain appeared. I am now come back to the old Faith, and stick close to our Communion. The example is so necessary that I think it is a duty to comply were that the only reason, as in truth it is not. Tomorrow L. G. Sackville, Col. 20th Regt, goes away, and I take upon me the difficult and troublesome employment of a Commander; you can conceive how hard a thing it is to keep the Passions within bounds, when authority and immaturity go together; to endeayour at a character that has every opposition from within, and that the condition of the blood is a sufficient obstacle to. Fancy you see one, that must do justice to both good and bad, reward and punish with an equal unbiass'd hand: one that is to reconcile the severity of Discipline to the dictates of humanity; one that must study the tempers and dispositions of many men, in order to make their situation easy and agreable to them; and should endeavour to oblige all without partiality; a man set up for every body to observe and judge of; and last of all suppose me employed in discouraging vice and recommending the reverse, at the turbulent age of 23, when it is possible I may have as great a propensity that way as any of the men that I converse with!

Inverness Nov. 6, 1751. (to his mother) Extracts.

(His birthday, which gives a melancholy turn to the beginning.)

"There are times when men fret at Trifles, and quarrel with their Tooth-pick; in one of these ill habits, I exclaim against the present condition, and think it the worst of all, but cooly and temperately is plainly the best; where there is most employment and least Vice, there one should wish to be. It is a meanness and a baseness not to endure with patience the little Inconveniencies we are subject to; and to know no happiness but in one spot, and that, in Ease, in Luxury and idleness, seems to deserve our contempt. There are young men amongst us, that have great revenues and high military stations, that repine at 3 months service with their Regiments, if they go 50 miles from home: Soup, and Venaison and Turtle, is their supream delight and joy; an effeminate Race of Coxcombs; the future leaders of our Armies, the defenders and Protectors of a great & free Nation! You bid me avoid Fort William. because you believe it still worse than this place, that will not be my reason for wishing to avoid it, but the change of conversation, the fear of becoming a mere Ruffian, & of imbibing the tyrannical Principles of an absolute Commander or giving way insensibly to the temptations of Power, till I become Proud, Insolent and intolerable, these considerations will make me wish to leave the Regiment before the next Winter, and always (if it could be so) after eight months duty, that by frequenting men above myself I may know my true condition, and by discoursing with the other sex may learn some civility and mildness of carriage, but never pay too high a price for this last improvement—better be a savage of some use, than a gentle amorous Puppy, obnoxious to all the World; one of the wildest of all the wild Clans, is a worthier being than a perfect Philander. I writ to my Father by the last post, to rectify my friend Charles' mistake, who always wishes that I should do, what he thinks best, and go the straight Road to an imaginary Felicity, that has no place but in his fruitful Fancy. The Answer you made, was conformable to my sentiments; I must be very deeply engaged, or have every substantial reasons to determine me to marriage, one nor the other are to be found in the matter touch'd upon—wits might spare their raillery: some time or another I will give you very particular reasons (over and above my senseless passion and the young Ladies misfortune) why a thought of that kind never enters into my head. Least you should

imagine I must tell you that those Reasons are no how prejudicial to the girl. I have a certain turn of mind that favours Matrimony prodigiously (tho' every way else extreamly averse to it at present) and you shall know it. I love Children & think them necessary to us in our latter days; they are fit objects for the mind to rest upon, and give it great entertainment when amusements of other kinds have lost their value. And next to being an honest man and a good citizen, it is meritorious to produce such Characters amongst men; our Endeavours here seldom fail of success, for young People are as capable of receiving good impressions and good sentiments as bad ones, & if their natures incline to evil, custom and education correct it—Two or three manly, courageous upright sons are a present to the World of the highest estimation, and the Father that offers them sees with satisfaction that he is to live in his successors, and that his good qualities will contribute to and illustrate mankind when he is no longer amongst them. Is not this a pleasing sort of reflection?

Lord Berry, Col. 20th Reg. of Foot, professes fairly, & means nothing; in that he resembles his Father and a million of other showy men that are seen in Palaces, & in the Courts of Kings—He desires never to see his Regt. & wishes that no officer would ever leave it—this is selfish and unjust: they have a way of trifling with their poor soldiery, that gives many very honest brave men high disgust. I am sensible that it is my duty to be here, & that silences me, otherwise the care of a Regt of Foot is very heavy, exceeding troublesome, & not at all the thing that I delight intho' as I told you before, the occupation in general is a good one, & hits my genius. I dont expect any leave of absence these 18 or 20 months, perhaps I may not ask, tho' according to custom I have several projects in view.''

Exeter Feb. 18, 1755. (to his father).

"By my mother's letter, which came to me this morning, I find that your bounty & liberality keeps pace (as it usually does) with my necessities. I shall not abuse your kindness nor receive it unthankfully; & what use I make of it shall be for your honour, & the Kings service; an employment worthy the hand that gives it. I cannot bear the thoughts

of asking these sort of supplies from any foreign Purse, and therefore should have been distress'd without your assistance than can well be described: I wouldn't wish that anything should take off my attention from the most important parts of my duty, nor feel myself crampt and tied down by the narrowness of my circumstances at a time when the thoughts should be free & at large. If a man is ill-served, ill-mounted, or ill-arm'd in the field; he is deprived of the necessary aids to his well-doing; and that spirit will guide others but indifferently which bends under its own wants. I shall husband your gifts with discretion, and be gratefully mindfull of your goodness. I wish you much health and happiness and am Dear Sir, Your most obedient & affectionate son

JAM. WOLFE."

Exeter 19 Feby. 1755. (to his mother) Extract.

"May I be permitted to say that my Father's apprehensions (& consequently your's) are not well founded; he was on board the fleet in the beginning of the war preceded by a peace of thirty years, in which the sea officers, as well as our's, had almost forgot their Trade, matters are not so circumstanced now and there are many commanders in the fleet, who are men of high courage and spirit: let me add that things inconveniencies at his time of life, which are not so at mine. I please myself that we are at liberty to do our country good service by going on board the fleet; the sickness that we feel at first will soon be over, and I flatter myself, if occasion be, that we shall spur'em on to their duty. The success of our fleet in the beginning of the War (if there is a war) is of the utmost importance, and we shall have great merit in contributing ever so little towards it—it is not time to think of what is agreable; that service is certainly the best, in which we can be most useful; for my part I am determined never to give myself a moment's concern, about the nature of the duty which his Majesty is pleased to order us upon; & whether it be by Sea or by Land, that we are to act in obedience to his Commands; I hope we shall conduct ourselves so as to deserve his approbation; it will be sufficient comfort to you two (as far as my person is concerned) to reflect, that the power which has hitherto preserved me, may if it be his pleasure continue to do so; If not, it is but a few days or a few years

more or less—and that those who perish in their duty & in the service of their country, die honourably; I hope I shall have resolution & firmness enough to meet every appearance of danger, without great concern—& not be over solicitous about the event, "

Exeter 12 March 1755. (to his father) Extracts:

"I hope that a proper confidence will always subsist between us; I have no interest distinct from yours nor many passions to gratify; or if I have any they shall always be subservient to your pleasure; for now I think I have 'em under pretty good command. Whenever I may have occasion to desire the aid of your purse, it will generally be with a view to do you honour, & to enable me to serve his Majesty as you yourself would serve him. If there's a war, I must either rise or fall: in either case, am provided for: but as I would willingly enjoy the society of my Friends without being troublesome to 'em, I should rather prefer the former; as the means of doing it & having as yet some little relish of life.... The promotions in your regiment & the removal of Wright, are marks of the Duke's goodness & great proofs of his excellent sense; it is a sound piece of politicks to put the Troops in good humour before a War & to keep 'em so afterwards by repeated acts of justice & kindness; the affections of military men are easily won and as easily kept; they only ask regular preferment & to be treated with common humanity. I have had a letter from Sir John Mordaunt very lately, in which he mentions his having seen you at Court—& I hope he'll see you there again before it be long. Admiral Meyston told me that Bocklands Regimt & ours were intended for the fleet, I had like intelligence from London, and till very lately was fully persuaded of the truth of it; musquets they must have, and till marines are raised, or the Irish Regts. augmented I shall think it very possible that they may make use of us."

Winchester, 26 March 1755. (to his mother) extracts.

"A little more stirring in fair weather, & in a light machine, if you had one, might help you" (in illness which she then laboured under)

AP. III—3

Lymington July 19.

Southampton, 28 Sept. 1755. (to his mother) Extracts.

"I dare believe you were always concerned of my affection for you, & of my gratitude; it was not this melancholy occasion " (her illness) "that gave birth to it, tho' perhaps it brought it more to light.—I am unfortunate in this Respect that my nature requires some extraordinary events to produce it itself—I want that attention, & those assiduous cares that commonly go along with good-nature & humanity: in the common middle of the winter, if you stay so much at home, I will come and shut myself up with you for 3 weeks or a month, & play piquet from morning till night; & you shall laugh at my short red hair as much as you please; I am sure you would smile now, if you saw me as I am with the covering nature has given me. I intend to devote myself this winter to my profession & shall read without ceasing—if you wou'd have me with you for a short while, it must be upon condition that I never stirr out of the house after dinner, with that indulgence, I shall engage to be at home whenever you are in the evening, my mornings are always as you know divided between exercise & study. I have been very idle all this summer, if a man may venture to say so who has given up much of his time to the Ladies. "

Winchester, 19 Oct. 1755. (to his father) Extract.

(After recommending an investment of 3 or £4000 in landed property) "Excuse the liberty I have taken, I do not consider myself as any way concerned in it; but I cannot but be apprehensive that the destruction of the publick Credit, may be the consequence of an unlucky

War, that of course all those Persons whose property lies in the Funds, must be ruined, amongst the rest my mother—Your Rank in the Army preserves you from any danger of want, & my employment is always bread; but neither may outlive the struggle & then who will help the poor Lady? "

Canterbury 8 Nov. 1755. (to his mother) extracts.

"The officers of the Army in general are persons of so little application to business, & have been soo ill educated, that it must not surprise you to hear that a man of common industry should be in repute amongst 'em. I reckon it as a very great misfortune to this country that I your son, who have I know but a very moderate capacity, & a certain degree of diligence a little above the ordinary run, should be thought, as I generally am, one of the best officiers of my rank in the service; I am not at all vain of the distinction, the comparison would do a man of genius very little houour, & does not illustrate me by any means; and the consequence will be fatal to me in the end; for as I rise in Rank, People will expect some considerable performances; and I shall be induc'd in support of an illgot reputation, to be lavish of my life, & shall probably meet that Fate which is the ordinary effect of such a conduct. You have made yourself believe that you dont write well—but you shan't make me believe any such thing; or if it was so (which is not really the case) you should remember that you are writing to your son, who is your Friend, knows the many good qualities of your mind & loves you. The Duke of Malborough has been very civil to us all, and very particularly so to me; he goes to town to morrow for a short stay... I have made some enquiry, for a little purchase for you—but can't hear of anything fit for the purpose; and they are particularly high in their demands in this Country, because of the extensive priviledges of a man of Kent; I wish it had been thought off two years ago-you may remember that I hinted it, & foretold that a War was not far off. The letter you sent me, came, as you guessed, from Goldsmith. I writ him by the Duke's order directions to enquire after an officer's widow in Ireland, who he was told had a son fit to serve, & H. R. H. Cumberland who is for ever doing noble and generous actions wanted to provide for that child-the Father was killed at Fontenoy. If I dont keep a good watch over myself I must be a little vain, for the Duke has of late given me such particular marks of his esteem & confidence that I am ashamed not to deserve it better—I have not the good fortune to be known to Capt. Buckle, which is sufficiently demonstrated by the commendations with which he has honoured my name; if we knew one another better, he would like, be more sparing in his praise. We expect the Duke of Richmond next week, & L'Albermarle the Earl comes to introduce his cousin to the Regt., and the Duke to do Duty at Quarters. That young man will make a considerable figure in our way—because he loves it & has a strong understanding."

Canterbury. 13 Nov. 1755 (to his father—Lieut. General Wolfe Blackheath, Knt.) Extract.

"I find that poor La fansille has been extremely out of order, nothing but the worst health, would, I am persuaded, have taken him away at this time: I mention this, because I remember that a sharp expression or two fell from me upon the score of my old acquaintance, and when one has done a man an injustice, but in thought, the quickest & best reparation should be made."

Canterbury. 16 Nov. 1755. (to his mother) distrest for a Groom.

"Lord Albermarle who knew my distress, has, in his great goodness sent me a groom, who was well recommended to him; the early knowledge of this may save you some trouble, and therefore I mention it. Just so much of my letter was writ when the Drum Major brought me yours; if I was not already provided I should readily accept the services of your footman John; especially as I have no maids to make work for, and want no other Qualities than sobriety & care of my horses this includes a little honesty, which one can't well do without. I am highly obliged to you for the steps you have taken in this affair, they are of a piece with your constant practise in regard to me and I am sometimes glad that I have need of your assistance for the pleasure of receiving it. My duty to my Father.

Banks of the River St. Laurence. 31 Augt. 1759. (to his mother)

"My writing to you will convince you that no personal toils (worse than defeats and disappointments) have fallen upon me; the enemy puts nothing to risk, & I cant in conscience put the whole army to risk. My antagonist has wisely shut himself up in inaccessible intrenchments so that I cant get at him, without spilling a torrent of blood, & that perhaps to little purpose. The Marquis de Montcalm is at the head of a great number of bad soldiers & I am at the head of a small number of good ones, that wish for nothing so much as to fight him—but the wary old fellow avoids an action, doubtful of the behaviour of his army. People must be of the profession to understand the disadvantages and difficulties we labour under, arising from the uncommon natural strength of the country. I approve entirely of my Father's disposition of his affairs. though perhaps it may interfore a little with my plan of quitting the service, which I am determined to do the first opportunity: I mean so as not to be absolutely distressed in circumstances; nor burdensome to you or any body else. I wish you much health & am Dear Madam yr. obedient and affectionate son.

JAM. WOLFE.

If any sums of money are paid to you of what is due to my Father from the Government let me recommend you not to meddle with the Funds, but keep it for your support until better times.

### Wolfe to Whitmore

19th of May 1759, Louisbourg.

Sir,

In the Distribution of Forces for the Invasion of Canada, my Lord Ligonier had regulated, that Bragg's Regiment, three Companies of Granadiers, and one Company of Light Infantry, besides the Rangers, should be taken from Louisbourg, and replaced by a thousand of the Boston Militia, by some Accident, the Company of Light Infantry has been omitted in the orders sent from England, nevertheless as I know it was designed, His Majesty service requires that I should apply to you for that Company, and I do it the more readily, as your Garrison will be

rather more numerous after the arrival of the Boston Militia than before. We are disappointed of the Recruits, which were intended to be sent from the West Indies to join us, and as several Regiments are much weaker, than they were thought (in England) to be, I must beg further to represent to you, that good Troops only can make amends for the want of Numbers, in an undertaking of this sort, it is therefore my duty to signify to you, that it would be much for the publick service to let the other two companies of Light Infantry, embark with the Army under my Command, upon Condition of being replaced Man for Man by some of the Rangers and some of Frazer's additional Companies, who are not so proper for the field, tho' very sufficient for the Defence of a fortified place. If there was any reason to apprehend that this change might have the least ill consequence I should not venture to propose it. Mr. Lawrence who has a very bad Fortress and a very weak Garrison, accepted of the sick and recovering men of the two American battalions as part of the 500 Regulars intended for the defence of Nova Scotia, knowing very well, that upon the success of our attacks in Canada the security of the whole continent of America in a great measure depends.

I am &c

JAM: WOLFE

Brigr. Genl. WHITMORE.

#### Answer

Louisbourg 19th May, 1759.

Sir,

I have the Honor of yours of this date, wherein you acquaint me, that in the distribution of forces for the Invasion of Canada, it was regulated that Braggs Regiment, three Companies of Grenadiers and one Company of Light Infantry besides the Rangers should be taken from Louisbourg.

By His Majesty's Instructions to me, I am to obey the orders, I shall receive from Major Genl. Amherst or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Nt. America.

I have not as yet received any orders from Major Genl. Amherst to detach a company of Light Infantry from this Garrison.

Bragg's Regiment, three Companies of Grenadiers and all the Rangers are ordered to embark when you see fit.

I have the honor to be &c.

ED. WHITMORE

Major Genl, Wolfe

Endorsed: Copy of M. G. Wolfe's letter to Govr. Whitmore & his answer, concerning the Light Infantry.

May 1759,

in Genl. Wolfe's of 6, June 1759

## Lt. Governor Hutchinson to Wolfe.

Boston 24 May 1759.

Sir

I have just received a letter from General Amherst desiring that 300 men might be added to the Louisburgh detachment from the Forces raised in this Province provided they can embark without any delay. I intend they shall be on board the Transports in 48 hours which is as soon as it is possible for them to march to this Town from the places where they now are. I think it necessary Sir, to give you immediate advice that if the Service required your sailing before they could arrive & you should think proper to take the same number of men from the Garrison at Louisburgh you might be assured nothing but the accidents of the Sea can prevent their place being supplied. You will excuse Sir my suggestions to you that it might be advisable to order this detachment without mentioning the particular Service for which they are designed until they are embarked, as you will have it equally in your power to employ them in it afterwards as if they had enlisted specially for that service.

The Governor Mr. Pownall has been absent at Pembrook near a month past. I expect his return in a few days.

I am with great respect and esteem Sir Your most obedt, humble Servant

THO, HUTCHINSON

His Excellency General Wolfe

endorsed: in Genl. Wolfe's of June 6, 1759.

## Amherst to Wolfe

Camp of Crown Point 7th Augt. 1759.

Dear Wolfe

I wrote to you a short Letter on my taking possession of Tienderoga, which may perhaps be a great while getting to you; Till now I could not get any strait conveyance and the Route, tho' not sure at present may be attempted, and I hope this will be delivered to you safe by Bearer, an Ensign in the Rangers—I arrived here the 4th, at night and a very welcome messenger overtook me in the night with the news that Niagara Surrendred to His Majesty's Arms the 25th. of last month, the Garrison consisting of 600 Men Prisoners of War; on the 24th, a Detachment of 1200 of the Enemy commanded by Messrs Aubry & Delignery, collected from Detroit, Venango, Presqu'Isle and every place they had, made an attempt to raise the Siege; The Indians gave intelligence of this; Every thing was prepared, & at time the Firing began. and they were so well received by the Troops that were posted, and the Indians in their Flank that in an hour the whole was compleatly Routed. all their Officers made Prisoners, amongst whom are, Messrs. Aubry, Delignery, Marin, Repentigni & 13 more, great numbers killed and a compleat Victory—Not a Prisoner hurt by our Men, had the French had the Victory, I suppose not one had escaped of ours, for I hear a Boat had fallen in the way of the Enemy that morning wherein were ten of the Light Infantry, whose heads were cut off by the above Prisoners and their army, & their Bodys mangled according to French custom—One

would have thought it would have been difficult after this to have stopt the men from following the example, but I am assured they did not hurt a man, that was a Prisoner, & their behaviour on that day & during the Siege, was with the utmost chearfulness & bravery; Sir William Johnson commends them much, and laments the loss of poor Brigr. General Prideaux, who was shot accidentally by one of our own Gunners on the 20th, when the Trenches were within 140 yards of the place.—I have almost repaired Tienderoga and made it better than it was; The Enemy thought to have destroyed it entirely, but they failed in their attempt, and they were very good in not forcing me to demolish it, which I should have done in a few hours, from the time they made their escapes & tried to blow it up ;—The loss of poor Col, Townshend marr'd the Enjoyment I should otherwise have had in the Reduction of the Place; One Ensign & sixteen men killed & fifty seven wounded, are all the Losses this Army has sustained—Brigr. Genl. Stanwix has by this a Champ Libre, he may do what he will-My brother who is gone to England wt, the news I had fixed poor Townshend should go with, has taken away my Cypher for Col. Williamson, which is a loss to me, as I purposed, to write to you by that. I want to hear from you.—You may depend upon my doing all I can for effectually Reducing Canada—Now is the time-

> I am with great Truth & Regard Dear Sir &c.

> > JEFF. AMHERST

Major General Wolfe

Endorsed: By Ensign Hutchins of the Rangers, by Kennebeck River.

Informing him of the Surrender of Niagara, and the present situation of affairs here in Amhersts to Pitt of Oct. 22d, 1759.

# Amherst to Wolfe.

Camp of Crown Point August 29. 1759.

Dear Wolfe

As I am sending away an officer to Louisburg this may perhaps meet with a Conveyance from thence. I hope Capt. Kennedy will have

arrived safe to you; Since his departure nothing material has happened here except a Letter from Monsieur de Montcalm a Copy of which with my answer I send you Enclosed, and I think myself much oblidged to him as 'tis the only Intelligence I have Received of you, except a Letter just now from Brigr. General Whitmore by a Letter he got from Your Army the 11th. of July.

My Last news of Brigr. General Gage is from Fort Stanwix, but Letters to officers here mention his being at Oswego. Brigr. Genl. Stanwix getting forward as fast as Provisions will let him he detached the 30th July 300 men under the command of Major Tullikens from Bedford to Pittsburgh to proceed to Venango and so on to relieve the Garrison of Niagara, there is nothing now to hinder the Detachments intended for that Garrison to proceed; I have taken care they shall have a sufficiency of provisions there. Poor Capt. Jocelyne was killed on the same day, at the Laurel Hill by some Indians who attacked a convoy and were soon Routed by Capt. Jocelyne who was unfortunately shot through the body at the latter end; two Indians found dead, eight more supposed to be dead or wounded, We lost three men and six Horses, this is in all likelihood the last party that will interrupt that communication.

I have a Brigantine and some Boats preparing in all haste pour chasser quatres vaisseaux Francois that have posted themselves on the Lake and are commanded by a Monsieur de le bras ten Guns each.

As you will be thoroughly Informed of my Intentions by Capt. Kennedy I have nothing more at present to add, I hope in a few days to see him back again and to hear that you are well and that you have all the Success you Deserve.

I am with the greatest truth & regard

Dear Wolfe &c.

JEFF. AMHERST.

General Wolfe

Endorsed: By an Officer going to Louisbourg; further Intelligence of his Situation, with the Copy of Mr. Montcalm's Letter of 30th July.

# Extracts from Amherst's letter to Pitt dated Camp of Crown point October 22d. 1759.

Written in the form of a journal from the 7th August to the 22d October 1759.

7th. August .... wrote to M. Genl. Wolfe, whom I had likewise wrote to the day Tionderoga was abandoned, sent an Ensign of the Rangers with it, who was confident he could easily joyn the Army under the command of Major Genl. Wolfe, by the Kennebeck River; but it is a round about way and must take up great Time.

8th. Captain Kennedy of late Forber's offered to go through the Country a much nearer way to the River St. Lawrence, and as it is of great consequence that I should hear from M. Genl. Wolfe as well as that he should from me, I sent Captain Kennedy with Lieut. Hamilton of the Royal, Captain Jacobs & four Indians, to go through the Settlements of the Indians on the South of the River St. Lawrence with a proposal from me, and with orders to take their answer to M. General Wolfe that they might be treated accordingly, this in all probability was the quickest method of conveying intelligence to M. Genl. Wolfe.

16th. A Deserter of the Regt. of Languedoc came in from four Vessels which lay below les Isles au quatre Vent—.... the four Vessels are La Vigilante of ten Guns 6 & 4 Pounders a Schooner—a Sloop called Masquelonguy of two brass 12 Pounders and six Iron 6 pounders. La Brochette of Eight Guns 6 & 4 pounders. L'Esturgeon of Eight guns 6 & 4 pounders, all have Swivels mounted, three of the vessels were built this year one is an old one, & another is repairing, Monsieur de le Bras a Captain of Man of War commands them with a Monsr. Rigal and other Sea officers, part of the Piquets of Languedoc, Bearn and La Sarre are on board.....

30th. Augt. I sent an officer to Louisburg by which opportunity I wrote to M. Genl. Wolfe & Admiral Saunders—The Radeau building, and I am promised the Brigantine shall soon be ready, I then shall be able either to take or force away the Enemy's Vessels on the Lake & to proceed to the other end.

7th. Sept. ....I directed Major Ord to prepare a number of hand Carcasses loaded with Grenades which may be of service if I should have an opportunity at trying to surprise Montreal—I ordered Petards likewise to be prepared.

Ioth. The Captain of the Guard boats sent me some letters, he had stopped Captain d'Isserat of the Regt. de la Reine nine miles off who was very unwilling to part with his despatches without delivering them himself at Crown point, contained a letter from Mons. de Montcalm not dated, acquainting me Capt. Kennedy & Lt. Hamilton were Prisoners, I answered the letters & sent an Aid de Camp to sift out in what manner Capt, Kennedy was taken whether in going to M. General Wolfe or in returning.

11th. Sep. Captain Kennedy was unluckily taken by some of St. Francis Indians who were out a hunting, as he was going to M. General Wolfe.

25th. Letters from Boston bring an account of Major General Wolfe having encreased his batteries on Point Levi on the 11th August. I have not yet heard from him, and he may likely be in the same situation in regard to me, tho' I have taken all the precautions I could in writing by different conveyances that some might arrive safe at hand.

9th. October. ...... in the night Ensign Hutchings of the Rangers who I had dispatched to M. Genl. Wolfe & arrived there the 4th. of Septr. came with Capt. Stobo of the Virginians, they quitted M. Genl. Wolfe on the 7th. of Septr. and got out of the River St. Laurence in four days, but unfortunately were taken the 29th. by a Pirate twelve leagues off Halifax and had thrown all their dispatches over board, and the Pirate stript them of every thing else, put them on board a Schooner with some more men he had taken—gave them one days provision & they got to Halifax in three, from thence they came by Boston here—the Pirate had fifty men & four Swivels, was fitted out from Miramichi & had taken four Vessels.

enclosure 10 in M. Genl. Amherst's to Pitt of Oct. 22. 1759

#### Montcalm to Amherst.

Au Camp de Beauport le 30 Juillet 1759.

Monsieur,

J'ay l'honneur de remercier Votre Excellence de la Lettre qu'elle m'a fait celui de m'Ecrire en datte du 17. et de m'avoir fait passer des Lettres du Sieur de La Miltiere officier Prisonnier. J'ai fait remettre au Seuir Grant du Regiment Ecossois de Montgomery. La Lettre de Votre Excellence et les Cent Livres Sterling qu'elle a fait compter au Sieur Bonneau, Capitaine au Regiment de Guyenne. J'attens toujours Votre derniere décision pour L'Echange des Prisonniers en exécution du Cartel.

A l'Egard du Sauvage de Cayionga dont Votre Excellence me parle qui a déclaré Assassiné Le Sieur Michel à L'instigation des François; Le Nom même de cette Nation nous est Inconnu, nous n'en avons jamais eû dans nos Armées, Il faut que ce soit du Côté de la Louisiane; et Je rends egalement Justice aux François de cette Colonie; Et de quoi n'est pas capable un Sauvage Condamné à des Suplices, et qui croit pouvoir se les Epargner par une fausse declaration, ce n'est pas sur de pareilles que Je Jugerois de La Nation Angloise! Aussi suis-je persuadé que Votre Excellence pense de même.

La Necessité de Secourir La Capitale de Cette Colonie, me prive de l'honneur de faire la Campagne vis à vis d'un General de Votre Reputation, quelqu'en eût été l'evenement, J'en aurois été flatté, ce n'est pas que Je ne sois rempli aussi d'estime pour la personne du General Wolff, vis à vis duquel Je me trouve; Il y a aujourd huy dix huit Jours qu'il paroit occupé d'Incendier Quebec, car independamment des bombes & boulets, il y Jette beaucoup de pots a feu et Carcasses; Par des lettres au Marquis de Vaudreuil, il paroit surpris que nous nous Servions d'Indiens, comme si Les Gouverneurs et Generaux de Sa Majesté Britannique n'en avoient Jamais Employés.—Ses Billets et Déclarations tour à tour melés de Douceur et de Menaces pour débaucher les Troupes provincialles Dont Sa Majesté très chrétienne se sert ainsi que le fait Sa Majesté Britannique, reproduiront aucun effet—Nos Armées sont, on ne Sauroit plus près, Il faut Esperer que nous pourrons nous Mesurer et Meriter reciproquement l'Estime que nos Nations quoiqu'en guerre sont faites

pour s'accorder.—Personne n'est plus penetré que Moi de ces Sentimens pour la Nation Angloise & pour Ses Generaux.

Je prens la Liberté de recommander à Votre Excellence une Lettre du Chevr. de la Miltiere pour son Frere

J'ay l'honneur d'Etre, avec la plus haute consideration,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur

MONTCALM

Endorsed: In Relation to the Exchange of Prisoners; disavowing the Cayuga Indian Executed for the Murder of M. Michael, committed by his (the Indians) own Confession at the Instigation of the French; And Informing the General, that General Wolfe, "ily a dix huit Jours paroit occupé d'Incendier Quebec."

Amherst's reply to above letter dated 15 August | 59 chiefly respecting the Cayuga Indian & the exchange of prisoners

# Wolfe to Barrington

Neptune at Sea. 6th. June 1759

My Lord

Since my arrival in America I have had the honour to receive two letters from your Lordship, one of an old date concerning my stay in this country, in answer to which, I shall only say, that the Marshal told me, I was to return at the end of the Campaign, and as General Amherst had no other commands than to send me to Winter at Halifax under the orders of an officer, who was, but a few Months before put over my head, I thought it was much better to get into the way of Service, and out of the way of being insulted; and as the Stile of your Lordships letter is pretty strong, I must take the liberty to inform you, that tho' I shou'd have been very glad to have gone with G. Amherst to join the Army upon the Lakes, & offer'd my services immediately after the reduction of Louisbourg to carry a reinforcement to Mr. Abercrombie, if Quebec was

not to be attack'd; yet rather than receive orders in the Government of an officer younger than myself (tho' a very worthy man) I shou'd certainly have desired leave to resign my commission; for as I neither ask, nor expect any favour, so I never intend to submit to any ill usage whatsoever. Your Lordship's letter with the Cartel concluded between his Majesty and the French King is come to my hands; Brigr, Genl. Murray & Colonel Howe having represented to me, that an Ensign of Amherst's Regiment, and two of Anstruther's had not join'd their Corps, since their Commissions were out, and that General Amherst's intentions were to superceed these officers, & put others in their room more dispos'd to serve, I have therefore taken upon me to appoint officers to these Commissions in conformity to the General's intentions, and for the good of his Majesty's service, waiting however to within a few days of our sailing for the arrival of these Gentlemen. There are no less than 100 Invalids, absolutely unfit for Service in this Corps of Troops (47 of Fraser's Regt.) 60 are to go home in the Nightingale, & 40 in a Cartel Ship appointed by the Admiral to carry Prisoners to France. I have filled up the Vacancies in these Regiments, & enclose my report of it

I have the honour to be wt. great Respect My Lord Your Lordships most obedient & most Humble Servant

JAM. WOLFE

P. S.—The 3 Ensigns Commissions are dated before the letters but this is to give their proper Rank to the Voluntiers who succeeded.

Namur 1st November 1758.

Sir

I have the honour to acquaint you, that in the latter end of August, I received General Amherst's orders to take the command of three Battalions, and to proceed with the Squadron under Sir Charles Hardy into the Gulph of St. Lawrence: The General's instructions directed me to destroy the settlements at Gaspé, Baye des Chaleurs, & Miramichi, and to go as far up the River St. Lawrence, as the Season of the year would permit. The Squadron sail'd from Louisbourg the 28th. August, and anchored in the Bay of Gaspé the 5th. September; the Inhabitants (few

in number) abandoned their houses, some got into Canada, some came in afterwards & submitted, and others were surpris'd & taken in the Woods by our detachments: by the 11th, this scatter'd settlement was entirely destroyed: among the Prisoners we found Pilots for Miramichi, and for the fishing Coast towards the Baye des-Chaleurs, I order'd Colonel Murray to take the command of about eight hundred men to attack the establishment at Miramichi, concluding that Boisubert and his Canadians, wou'd be there to assist the Indians & Acadians in their defence. A Detachment was sent at the same time under Captain Erwin of Amherst's Regiment, to destroy the fishing settlements at Pas-beau and la grande Rivière, and Sir Charles Hardy orderd some of the Boats of his Squadron to Mal-baye, and other places—west of Gaspée to ruin the fishery there. Colonel Murray's report is enclosed for your information concerning the Bay, River & settlement of Miramichi. Captain Erwin, with his detachment, some Marines, & some Sea-men landed at la grande Riviere, Pas-beau, baye sauvage, and upon the Island Bonaventure, and burnt all the Houses, Shallops, Stages, Magazines & Stores of those settlements to a considerable value, with a quantity of dried fish & two sloops laden with that Commodity for Quebec, but Captain Jacobs who commanded the Kennington, sent by Sr. Charles Hardy to countenance and assist Mr. Erwin, did not think it safe to remain upon the Coast, so that Capt. Erwin was obliged to leave most of the inhabitants in the Woods contrary to my instructions, and to the directions I had received from General Amherst.

When these detachments were made, I advis'd with Sr. Charles Hardy, as to what might be done in the River St. Lawrence to distress, or alarm the Enemy, and cause some diversion in favour of General Abercomby, but the Rear Admiral did not think it proper at that Season to carry the Squadron as high as the Isle Bic. However, I determin'd to destroy the Settlement at Mont-Louis thirty two leagues from Gaspé and the only inhabited place between that Bay & St. Barnabé; I had learn't that there was a considerable store of dry fish ready for Quebec, & imagin'd there might possibly be some good Pilots for the River. The 13th., Major Dalling was detached with 100 men to surprise Mont-Louis, & bring off the inhabitants; he marched five days along the Coast, & surrounded the place in the night, so that none cou'd escape; the Major burn't a schooner upon the stocks, all their Fish, and totally destroy'd the Fishery; he brought away six pieces of small Cannon, & a Sloop

with provisions from Quebec, which came into the River of Mont-louis, after the detachment got there, this Sloop was to unload, & then proceed to Gaspé for intelligence, with orders to cruise there till the 15th October. The Passengers & People informed us, that they left the French fleet getting under sail the 17th September twenty five leagues, below Quebec, and that the Squadron consisted of six sail of the Line, two Frigates, two Privateers, and four Merchant Ships, that they were to pass through the streights of Belle-isle in their way to Europe. These Prisoners assured us, that there was great scarcity of provisions and great distress at Quebec, that (altho' the Magazines for the army were full, and the best harvest of many years) Bread sold at near a shilling a pound, that both the Troops & Inhabitants had been reduced in the Winter to eat horse-flesh, and that the Colony must be ruin'd, unless very early & very powerfull assistance was given.

Major Dalling returned to Gaspé the 23d; and Sir Charles Hardy (who had been cruising for some time, between Gaspé & Anticosti, endeavouring to get within the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence) came to an anchor in the Bay, the 24th. As there was no further service for the Troops, they embarked; the Squadron sail'd the 27th and arrived at Louisbourg the 29th Amherst's & Anstruther's Regiments were sent directly to Haiifax, & Braggs' remain'd at Louisbourg.

As we found no Enemy in a condition to oppose us, we cou'd add nothing to the reputation of his Majesty's Arms. Their Fishery in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, a material article of subsistance to the Canadians, is, in a great measure ruin'd, a few Shallops only got up to Quebec with fish before our arrival at Gaspé. Two arm'd Sloops, and four whale Boats will make it impossible to catch a Quintal of Cod as long as the War lasts.

All their Houses, Stages, Magazines, Shallops, Nets, Stores, & Provisions are burn't, one hundred & forty of the Inhabitants brought off, and the rest of them miserable people, will in all probability be forced to abandon their settlements, and retire to Quebec,—Among the Prisoners, there are some who are very well acquainted with the River St. Laurence, their names have been given to Mr. Durelle. From Pasbeau round the Bay des Chaleurs, to Caraquet, there are no french Inhabitants; from Caraquet to Mirimichi, there may be about forty who

either fish, or trafick with the Indians for furr, Upon the Magdalen Islands, there are from thirty to forty People, employed in catching Sea-Cows.

In time of Peace, a number of Ships from St. Maloes and other Ports, are sent every year to fish upon the Coast of Gaspée. Forty sail of ships are expected in the River St. Laurence, with provisions, Stores &c., early in the Summer.

I have the honour to be with the utmost Respect Sir Your most obedient and most Humble Servant

JAM: WOLFE

Enclosure in Wolfe's of 1st Novr. 1758-

# James Murray to Wolfe

Louisbourg 24th. September 1758.

Sir,

I have the Honor to acquaint you that all the Fleet, (except the small Sloop which parted from Us at Sea and did not join Us till we were on our return to Louisbourg,) made Miramichi Bay the 15th. instant, and came to an Anchor in an open Road, Seven Leagues from the Settlement and three from the Barr, exposed 16 Points of the Compass; Capt. Vaughan expressed much Uneasiness at the Situation of the Ships, but as the Weather was moderate and promised to continue so some time, he eagerly embraced the opportunity and agreed with me, that we should immediately with the Artillery Sloop and the Boats of the Fleet proceed up the River and attack the Settlement, representing to me the necessity of returning quickly, as the Ships in the Situation they were in, without Boats or Men, could not possibly escape being lost, should the Gales of Wind blow, which are naturally to be expected at this Season of the year; As we had this morning chased a Privatier into the River which in Company with a Sloop, we saw fire several Guns, I mounted the two Six Pounders in our Sloop and contrived to embark three Hundred Men in her and the Boats, there is but Six Feet Water on the Barr at low Water, we were therefore obliged to wait a litte this side of it till the

Tide rose by which means it was dark before we could get over it, we struck upon it but got safe within Muskett Shott of the Settlement about 12 at Night, Joseph the Indian being our Pilot, we landed & found all the Inhabitants, (except the King's Surgeon & Family) had desert'd it, this man told me, that the Inhabitants consist of the neutral French who fled from Nova Scotia, that they expected no Quarter from Us and had therefore run away, that le Pere Bonavanture was with them, their Number about Forty, that there are several Habitations dispersed all over the Bay for many Leagues both above & below where we were, that many Indians inhabit this Bay, but chiefly about where we were & below, that they lived sometimes in one place sometimes in another, having no fixed residence till the Winter, that on the other side the Bay there was a Settlement of about Thirty Family's Three Leagues from Us, to destroy which I immediately detached a Party. That Ten Leagues up the River there was another Settlement very considerable of Neutrals and some Family's who had fled from the Island of St. Johns since the taking of Louisbourg, that the whole were in a starving Condition, had sent away most part of their Effects to Canada, and were all to follow immediately as they every Hour expected the English, & besides could not subsist, since they could not now be supported by Sea as they formerly were before Louisbourg was taken, that the Inducement for settling in that River was the Furr Trade, which is very considerable. no less than Six Vessels having been loaded there with that Commodity this Summer, that Monsr. Boisbert commands the whole as well as the Settlement on St. John's River, That he is at present with his Company at Fort George, against which he is to act in conjunction with a Detachment from Montcalm's Army & is to return no more to Miramichi, which is abandoned for the reasons already given, that the two Vessels we had seen, were, one a Privatier mounting Six Carriage Guns, the other a Sloop which had an officer and Twenty Five Men on board for Canada. they had escaped from Cape Britain, but being chased by one of our Frigates off Gaspée, I suppose the Kennington, were now to make the best of their way inland to Canada, there being a Communication from the head of Miramichi River to Quebeck by Rivers & Lakes a few Portages excepted, He added that the Passage up the River to the Settlement Ten Leagues up, was very narrow but water enough for the Sloop; As the Weather was still fair & promising, I immediately upon this Consideration, wrote to Capt. Vaughan for some Guns to mount

upon the Sloop (as I found our Six Pound field Pieces would not work in her) and some more Provisions, that I might proceed up the River to destroy every thing in it, but he sent me the inclosed Letters one after the other, I likewise took care to have Capt, Bickerton consulted about the Situation of the Fleet, who declared he could not Sleep while it continued where it was; I therefore in the Evening of the 17th in obedience to your Instructions embarked the Troops, having two Days hunted all around Us for the Indians and Acadians to no purpose, we however destroyed their Provisions, Wigwams and Houses, the Church which was a very handsome one built with Stone, did not escape, We took Numbers of Cattle, Hogs and Sheep, & Three Hogsheads of Beaver Skins, and I am perswaded there is not now a French Man in the River Miramichi, and it will be our fault if they are ever allowed to settle there again, as it will always be in the power of two or three Armed Vessels capable of going over the Barr, to render them miserable should they attempt it. I thought it was a pity that the two Vessels I have mentioned should escape Us, and therefore proposed to the Sea Commanders to go up with the Sloop manned with Soldiers to attack her and desired some Six Pounders, but they declared she was not in a Condition to carry any, and was otherwise very improper for such an Enterprize; If this could have been done the Fleet might have proceeded to Sea, out of the Danger it was exposed to, by lying in the open Road. We are now return'd to Louisbourg in the same Situation we left you at Gaspée;

To Brigadier Genl. Wolfe.

I am &c.

JA. MURRAY

A true copy

JAM. WOLFE

# Gen. Wolfe to Gen. Amherst

Halifax 1st May 1759 (Extract)

I am glad of this Opportunity to inform You of Our arrival, and in tolerable good order the length of Our passage consider'd. We were astonish'd to find Mr. Durelle at an Anchor; he demanded Troops to compleat his Squadron, which were given without loss of time; I send Carleton with the Rear Admirall, & have reinforc'd the first detachment,

because it may be necessary to land upon some of the Islands in the River, & Mr. Durelle may think it right to push a detachment of his Squadron up to the very bason of Quebec, Our four Battalions are at a very low ebb and I believe, if Mr. Murray, Mr. Howe, & the other Gentlemen, had not taken more than common precaution, and been at more than ordinary Expence, & pains for the preservation of their Men. assisted by Mr. Russels skill & diligence these Regiments, wou'd have been annihilated Otway's & Bragg's, are still worse, as I am inform'd, So that you see Sir, what a numerous body of Men are here for the Conquest of Quebec, I believe they feel Stout, and so they had need, seeing, there is not a Multitude.. Mr. Saunders made several attempts to get into Louisburg, but there was such a Crust of Ice all along the Shoar from Scatari to St. Esprit, that it was by no means safe to push in, nor, indeed possible at that time. Our Ships are in general healthy.—I hope You have order'd Whitemore to give me the Company of light Infantry, from his three Battalions, &c. The least loss in the River, or Sickness among the Men. reduces our Undertaking to little more than a diversion—& I can assure You, that I think we are very liable to accidents. It can't be doubted that the French have thrown Succours in, or will do it, before our Squadron gets to its proper Station; The Harbour of Louisburg being as yet clos'd up-it is to be wish'd that any Troops coming from the continent, or the Bay of Fundy within this Fortnight, might put into Halifax, & take the security of Mr. Saunders Convoy to Louisburg.

I wish you health & Success—of the former I have but a small Share; of the latter as little hope, unless we get into the River first: however trust me they shall feel us.

If you would send even the small number of 300 Pioneers, it would be infinite relief to the Soldiers, because these (the Militia) could be constantly at Work having no other occupation.

There is a great Siege to be undertaken, & not a farthing to pay the Workmen— I am not possessed of a single dollar of Publick Money; & yet, it is much a Question among the Military Men, whether, We shall not be obliged to fight first & besiege afterwards.

Endorsed: Acquainting the General with his Arrival; the State of the Troops, & Fleet; the Military Chest Empty; and desiring a reinforcemt of 300 Pioneers from the Provincials,

In M. G. Amherst's of June 19. 1759, to Pitt—dated from Camp at Fort Edward

N. B.—There are 103 inclosures to Amherst's letter of June 19. 1759 besides four plans—one of Oswego—two of posts on Oneyda Lake, & one —of Order of Battle

## Amherst to Wolfe

Albany May 21st 1759.

Dear Wolfe

If I succeed, this will wait on you with three hundred good pioneers, which I think will be of Service to you, and I therefore give up that number, which ought otherwise to join me, and I shall be very glad to want them, if you have them.

If my demands on this occasion, have not the weight that I hope they will have, I can't help it; the difficulties of prevailing on any of the Governments to the Westward of Halifax, to go out of the common road, are great, but I'll try, as it will give me great pleasure, to do every thing that can be in my power to the utmost of your Wishes, and I send away Capt. Abercromby immediately with this, with a letter (a copy of which you have enclosed) to the Lieut. Governor, in hopes, that he will, on my earnest solicitations, be persuaded it is for the Good of His Majesty's Service, and send them, without waiting for provincial Authorities & Ceremonies, by which half the Campaign would be over before they are resolved.

Your letter of the 1st of May, came to me late last Night, I am glad you are safe arrived at Halifax, and am willing to believe your health is no otherwise not well, than from your passage, which I know, no more agrees with you than with me.

I expected Mr. Durell would have been out before the first of this Month, many Days, but if the Weather has been so Severe, to hinder our Ships from getting up the River St. Lawrence, there is a certainty,

that it would not be more favorable for the Enemy, who have a greater distance to come from to get up the River, and therefore, should find more difficulties than we do, who ought to be better informed, than they can possibly be.

I have wrote you already, what I am doing, no Massachusetts, Newhampshire, yet arrived, 300 Connecticut are come, and all the New Yorkers, are as soon Marched as Arrived; I doubt not but the others will now soon come in, and I fully intend, to do the most with them I can, I can't tell you exactly what I shall do, as it must depend on Circumstances, as I find them, but you may be Assured, my point in view shall be to distract the Enemy, and force them to give up one Avenue, which is Sufficient for us to take all Canada, or if they will attempt to defend themselves in every Corner, I hope they will be disappointed in all, as they must be weak every where.

A detachment is gone & going to Niagara, as I wrote you word I should send one, I hope they'll come from thence to La Galette, I am preparing things for Lake George; I shall have a diversion on the Right if I can, and try to make them say *Nous Sommes Coupés*, by which I believe, Tienderoga will be easily ours

I send you enclosed, two Commissions, which I have waited for an opportunity of sending to Brigadier Murray, I have wrote every thing, in regard to Engineers, that I think you will desire, as you will see, when you receive my Several Letters.

The Company of Light Infantry, from the three Battalions to be left at Louisburg, to be of Your Army, I have not had the least Mention from England, but I am very well convinced, Brigr. Genl. Whitmore's Zeal for the good of His Majesty's Service, is a sufficient inducement to him to grant them to you, if he thinks the important Island of Cape Breton Sufficiently Secure, and I think so small a number can, at this time that the Enemys hands are full, be of no bad consequence to give to you.

I am full of a thousand things that are going on here, but resolved not to lose a moment, in trying to get you these pioneers, as You interest Yourself so much on that point; I shall rejoyce if it has Success, and you may be assured, I shall at all times, seize every occasion that may offer, to prove myself

Dear Wolfe &c.

JEFF: AMHERST

Major General Wolfe

Endorsed: In answer to Mr. Wolfe's of the 1st., acquainting him with the application he had made for the 300 pioneers; his hopes & warmest wishes that it might take place; and informing him of the proposed diversion to the Westward.

in M. G. Amherst's of June 19, 1759

#### Montcalm to Amherst

A Quebec le 24 May 1759.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence que Mr. Le Marquis de Vaudreauil & moi Venons de recevoir des ordres du Roy notre Maitre de tenir la main à l'Execution du Traité d'Echange pour les Prisonniers fait à l'Ecluse le 6 fevrier 1759 au nom de leurs Majestés Très Chretienne et Britannique pour etre Executé selon sa forme et teneur dans quelque partie du Monde que les Armées Belligerentes ou Auxiliaires des deux Nations se trouvent. Je ne doute pas que Votre Excellence n'ait reçu les mêmes ordres, aussi suis je pret de m'y conformer et de vous envoyer en consequence tous les Prisonniers qui nous restent pourvû que Votre Excellence veuille de son côté en agir de même comme j'en reste persuadé; M. de Bourlamaque Brigadier commandant un corps de Troupes sur la frontiere du Lac St. Sacrement est chargé de vous faire passer ma depêche. Sur vôtre reponse d'acceptation, je lui ferai passer tous les Prisonniers Anglois pour les Echanger au Fort de Lydius avec les notres grade à grade et pour le surplus se conformer au dit Cartel.

Je saisis avec empressement cette premiere occasion d'assurer Vôtre Excellence de la haute consideration avec laquelle

> J.ai l'honneeur d'être Monsieur, Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

> > MONTCALM.

Endorsed: Copy of letter from Mr. Montcalm to Major General Amherst Quebec 24th May 1759

proposal of an Exchange of Prisoners agreeable to the last Cartel.

in M. G. Amhersts of June 19, 1759

# (Amherst?) letter unsigned to Montcalm

du Camp sous Fort Edouard ce 17 Juin, 1759.

Monsieur,

La Lettre que votre Excellence m'a faite l'honneur de m'écrire le 24 May, ne fait que de me parvenir dans l'instant par le Sr. Cotte, Major de Milice, que j'aurois renvoyé sur le Champ, si l'humanité n'exigeoit pas de lui donner cette Nuit, pour se remettre du mauvais tems qu'il a essuié dans son trajet, ainsi il ne repartira que demain au jour.

Par cette occasion, j'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à votre Excellence, un Exemplaire du Traité d'Echange dont Elle fait mention, et de l'assurer en même tems, combien il m'est agréable que ses Ordres et les miens soient si conformes, pour tenir la main à son exécution: Il ne me reste donc qu'a la prier de vouloir bien croire que, de mon côté, Je manquerai pas de la remplir dans toute sa teneur dès que J'en aurés le pouvoir, mais pour cette fin, Je suis premierement oblige d'ecrire a la Nouvelle York, pour m'informer de l'Etat et du nombre de vos Prisonniers, et donner les Ordres necessaires pour les faire approcher des Frontieres, ce qui ne peut manquer de prendre quelques tems, mais dès que ce là ce

peut, votre Excellence peut être persuadée que, Je me ferai un vrai plaisir de n'être pas en Arrière avec Elle, et qu'il ne dependra pas de moy, que le Cartel ne sorte son entier Effet.

Je joins icy quelques Lettres de vos Messieurs, qu'ils m'ont prié de vous faire passer par la première occasion; parmi elles, il y en a une pour votre Excellence, de la part de M. Bonneau, à qui j'ai fait tenir deux cent livres sterling qu'il m'avoit demandé, pour lesquels il a pris la liberté de tirer sur Votre Excellence en faveur du Major Grant:—Comme cet officier, pendant son détention, a du avoir occasion de faire des Emprunts, je lui remets cette Lettre de change pour les rembourser; Si elle ne suffit pas, je vous prie de vouloir lui faire procurer ce qu'il pourra avoir besoin de plus, et j'aurai soin de le faire rembourser de la même façon, attendu que M. Bonneau, depuis mon départ, m'a fait demander un autre credit que je lui ai donné.

La Lettre addressée a Made. Pean, ne m'est parvenue que depuis quelques Jours, très fortement recommandée par M. son Mari; Il est inutile d'y ajouter la mienne, ne doutant pas que, Votre Excellence sera charmée de l'occasion de procurer à cette Dame, la satisfaction d'une missive aussi interessante: Mais celle pour M. le Major Grant, toute ouverte, je prends la liberté de vous recommander particulièrement.

Je ne puis pas non plus me refuser, de vous envoyer copie de l'ordre que j'ai donné à mes Irreguliers et Sauvages, persuadé que, les sentiments de Votre Excellence y sont conformes, et qu'elle se fera un plaisir d'y correspondre. Les voici.

"Qu'aucunes parties qui vont en Course, ou quelqu'autres que ce soit sous mes ordres, dans quelques occasions que ce puissent être, ne leveront de chevelures aux Femmes ni aux Enfants de l'Ennemi; s'ils ne peuvent pas les emmener Prisonniers, Ils les laisseront sans leur faire du mal; Attendû que, si l'Ennemi en agit autrement, et qu'ils tuent ou enlevent la chevelure aux Femmes ou aux Enfants, sujets du Roy, Je suis determiné de m'en venger, par la mort de deux hommes de l'Ennemi, pour chaque Femme ou Enfant qu'ils auront ainsi tué, ou dont ils auront enlevé la chevelure, et celà dès la première fois que j'en aurés l'occasion."

Je saisi, avec le même empressement que votre Excellence, cette

premiere occasion de l'assurer de la haute consideration avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'etre, Monsieur,

Votre très Humble et très obéissant Serviteur

S. E. M. le Mis. de Montcalm, maréchal des Camps & Armées de S. M. T. C. en Canada, à Québec.

Endorsed: To the Marquis de Montcalm Camp at Fort Edward 17th June 1759 In answer to his of the 24th. May, and enclosing the order against scalping women and children.

In M. G. Amherst's of June 19 | 59

# Copy of a Letter from on Board the Leostaff

Sepr 12th 1759

To Gen. Wolfe,

Sir

As we do not think ourselves sufficiently informed of the several parts which may fall to our Share in the execution of the Des-cent you intend tomorrow, we must beg leave to request from you, as distinct Orders as the nature of the thing will admit of, particularly to the place or places we are to attack. This circumstance (perhaps very decisive) we cannot learn from the public orders, neither may it be in the power of the naval officer who leads the Troops to instruct us. As we should be very sorry, no less for the public than our own sakes, to commit any mistakes, we are persuaded you will see the necessity of this application, which can proceed from nothing but a desire to execute your Orders with the utmost punctuality.

We are, Sir etc

ROBT. MONCKTON, GEO. TOWNSHEND, JAS. MURRAY. Answer to the Letter of the 12th.

(Wolfe's last letter)

To Brigadier Monckton

Sir,

My reason for desiring the Honor of your Company with me to Gorham's post yesterday was to shew you, as well as the distance would permit, the situation of the Enemy, and the place where I meant they should be attacked; as you are charged with that duty I should be glad to give you all further light and assistance in my power.—The place is called the Foulon distant upon 2 miles or 21/2 from Quebec, where you remember an encampment of 12 or 13 Tents and an abbatis below it. you mentioned to day that you had perceived a breast work there which made me imagine you as well acquainted with the place as the nature of the thing would admit of, I took Capt. Shads with me also and desired the Admirals attendance, that as the former is charged by Mr Saunders with conducting the Boats, he might make himself as much a Master of his part as possible; and as several of the Ships of War are to fall down with the Troops, Mr. Holmes would be able to station them properly after he had seen the place. I have desired Mr Holmes to send the Boats down, so that we may arrive about half an hour before day, as you desired to avoid the disorder of a night attack, and I shall be present myself to give you all the aid in my power.

The officers who are appointed to conduct the divisions of Boats have been strictly enjoined to keep as much order and to act as silently as the nature of the Service will admit of, and Capt. Shads will begin to land the men a little of this side of the naked Rock, which you must remember to have seen, within which (to the East-ward) the Enemy is posted.

It is not a usual thing to point out in the public orders the direct spot of our attack, nor for any inferiour Officers not charged with a particular duty to ask instructions upon that point. I had the Honor to inform you to day that it is my duty to attack the French Army. To the best of my knowledge and abilities I have fixed upon that spot where we can act with the most force and are most likely to suceed. If I am mis-

taken I am sorry for it and must be answerable to his Majesty and the public for the consequences.

I have the Honor to be,

Sir etc.

JAM: WOLFE.

Sutherland 8½ o'Clock
12th Sepr 1759

### Another To Brigadier Townshend

Sir

General Monckton is charged with the first landing and attack at the Foulon, if he succeeds you will be pleased to give directions that the Troops afloat be set on shore with the utmost expedition, as they are under your Command, and when 3600 men now in the Fleet are landed I have no manner of doubt but that we are able to fight and to beat the French Army, in which I know you will give your best assistance.

I have the Honor etc

JAM: WOLFE

Sutherland

8½ Clock 12th Sepr. 1759.



#### COPIES OF ORIGINAL LETTERS

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RIGHT HON.

THE VISCOUNT GALWAY (BARON MONCKTON)

OF SERLBY HALL, YORKSHIRE

(No 1)

General Wolfe desires that Brigr. Monckton will take the trouble of enquiring what orders the Officer of Kennedy's had, who fell in with the advanc'd posts last night, and his reason for returning to Camp in that extraordinary manner.

Head Quarters. 1/2 past 7.

[June 30th 1759]

(2)

St Lawrent, July 1st, 1 in the morning.

Sir,

The General has order'd me to acquaint you, that you immediate fortify your Camp with all possible dispatch and precaution, by constructing redoubts in the open places, and making Abbatir in such as are woody. He has apply'd to the Admiral, to order the fleet to give you all possible assistance and you will take care to construct a redoubt at the landing place in order to keep up a communication with them.

You should fortify your Flanks in the strongest manner, and if then you should want a reinforcement of light troops, he will send you two Companys of Rangers and some Light Infantry.

The Church on your right seems to the General to be of so great importance, that he recommends the defence of it, to be put into the most capable and determined hands you have. It appears to him, that there is a house near your water side on the left, which should be taken possession of and fortify'd.

You may apply to the fleet with you for their marines whom you may employ as Pioneers. The General will take care to supply you with provisions. Forty Muskets and Ammunition from your nearest ships is order'd for Captain Goreham's Company.

The General proposes seeing you this morning.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ,

D. A. G.

P. S. The General thinks that Webb's Regt., not being so much fatigued as your rest might be mostly employ'd in entrenching &c, which you should carry on with all possible, Life, till the Camp is entirely free from insult.

Brigr. General Monckton.

(3)

Sir,

The General has already mention'd that your Light Infantry (of Webb's and Kennedy's) should hold themselves in readiness to embark.

This he means to extend to the Grenadiers, and indeed to your whole body of troops, if they should be wanted.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ

Adj. Gl.

Point of Orleans. July 7th.

(4)

Sir,

The General has commanded me to acquaint you that he had given the troops here one day's provisions extraordinary as they had lost some in disembarking. This indulgence he means to extend to the troops under your command: but at the same time recommends, the greatest management and care of their provisions, for the future.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

ISAAC BARRÉ.

Adjt. Genl.

Montmorenci, July 16th.

Brigr. Monckton.

(5)

Sir,

The General desires that you will immediately order a battery of six twenty four pounders to be constructed, on whatever spot of ground the Ap. III—5

Commanding Officer of Artillery will judge to be the best, to annoy the town from.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient & most humble
Servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

Montmorenci. July 24th. at night.

Hon. Genl. Monckton.

(6)

Sir,

By General Wolfe's desire I shall send you by eight o'clock tomorrow, boats to take in One thousand men, The troops should be in the boats by ten: Captain Schomberg will be with you in the morning, who directs the embarkation.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CHAS, SAUNDERS.

Sterling Castle. 30th July 1759.

(7)

Sir.

The General has order'd me to acquaint you, that he desires two more divisions of the Highlanders may be sent over to this Camp tomorrow in the night time.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

Head Quarters. Aug. 16th.

Hon. Genl. Monckton.

(8)

Dear Sir,

I have received your favour in regard to Admiral Holmes Boat, and have sent to General Wolfe to acquaint him with her situation. I see no other way for her to get up than by a Frigate being sent down to drive those boats away.

I am with great truth and esteem.

Dear Sir,

Your most faithfull humble servant.

CHAS. SAUNDERS.

Sterling Castle. 16th August 1759.

(9)

Camp of Crown Point, August 20th 1759.

Dear Sir,

I enclose you a copy of a letter I have received from Lord Barrington in regard to your rank, which I had not the least doubt would be settled to your desires.

I fancy it is very uncertain when and where this will find you as I send it to Boston Port, but wherever it does I hope you there enjoy a continuance of your health and that success is attending you in all your operations.

I am with great truth and regard.

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant.

JEFF. AMHERST.

Hon. Br. General Monckton.

(10)

Dear Sir,

The cannon you heard is probably what you imagine, a Vessel coming down to open the communication.

The Admiral has heard a different account of the Woman's report—he sent for the man on board to examine him; and he there declard that she had spoke handsomely of the treatment that she and the rest had met with. They are certainly distressed—it is everybody's story, that leaves the Army,

On Languit dans ce Camp

the Deserters say, What shall I do with this Cotton, better send him on board, and let the Admiralty settle his affairs hereafter. Our Batteries alarm them you may be assured.

I wish we had Murray's Corps back, that we might be ready to decide it with 'em.

I have the honour to be with much regard,

Dear Sir,

Your faithfull and humble servant,

JAMES WOLFE.

19th August, 1759.

Addresed to The Honble.

Brigadier General Monckton,

Commanding at the Point of Levy.

(II)

22nd Aug. 1759.

Dear Brigadier,

Murray, by his long stay above and by detaining all our boats, is actually Master of the operations—or rather puts an entire stop to them. I have writ twice to recall him: but you tell me the Midshipman is yet

at his old post. I intend to burn all the country from Camarasca to the Point of Levy, Scot's Rangers and some Volunteers are to execute a part of this. You know I promiss'd Mr Cameron the first vacancy in the Army, or, no recommendation whatever should have interfered with yours in your own Regiment. The next Ensigney Mr Tren shall have unless you chose a Lieutenancy (if a vacancy happen) should be given to Poor Engel, who has been hardly used.

I have the honour to be with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant.

JAMES WOLFE.

Montmorency, 22nd Augt. 1759.

(12)

Sir,

The General being slightly indisposed, has honour'd me with his Commands to acquaint you that he has received your letter of yesterday's date. He thinks it would be right to order some Rockets at Goreham's Post, to be thrown up, so that our ships above may see them: This will be a hint to the people above that we want something.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

ISAAC BARRÉ.

Head Quarters, Augt 24th.

Hon. Gl. Monckton.

(13)

Sir,

I shew'd your letter to the General, and sent the other to Mr. Townshend. The state of the troops shall be got ready (as near as I can

determine) by this night, and I shall send it to you to morrow morning: The other General Officers have ask'd for one each.

General Wolfe thinks you may shew the private instructions to the two Brigadiers: The Admiral has been told that he is to expect to see the Generals to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Most respectfully yours,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

Head Quarters. 6 o'clock.

Hon. B. G. Monckton.

(14)

Sir.

The General recommends your sending out a strong detachment tomorrow, to scour the country, to see what damage can be done the Enemy by destroying Villages, the Harvest, and driving in, if possible some cattle. The detachment is to return in the evening.

> I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant,

> > ISAAC BARRÉ.

Sutherland. September 9th.

At night.

Hon, Brigr. Monckton

(15)

Sir,

Tho' I have not the Honour to be personally known to you, I am, however, sufficiently acquainted with your general character, to conclude, that the paying due Honours to the Memory of a Leader, who died so gloriously in his Country's cause, as the brave General Wolfe, can not

be unacceptable to the person, who worthily succeeds him in Command: I shall, therefore, make no apology, for taking the liberty to enclose you, what I have just sketch'd, as an Essay to the celebrating so great a man! I call it an Essay; since I have not the vanity, to flatter myself with hopes of succeeding equal to my wishes in so arduous a subject! and find my mind and harp still out of tune, from the blow I receiv'd in this Gentleman's death: but, as I admir'd him living, I am desirous to express, at least, my private respect to him dead, at the riske of what any Criticks sœver may say of the Author; and shall be heartily glad to see this poor composition of my own, invite some abler genius to so glorious, tho' melancholy a Theme!

I am Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant,

VALENTINE NEVILL.

His Excellency Genl. Monckton.

Quebec, 7th October 1759.

(16)

An essay to an epitaph on the truly Great and justly lamented Major General Wolfe, who fell, victoriously, before Quebec, the 13th September 1759.

Here rests from toil, in narrow bounds confined. The human shell of a celestial mine, Who, once, with splendor fill'd a scene so large! And took the fate of Empires in his charge: A Hero with a Patriots Zeal inspired, By publick Virtue, not by passion fir'd; A hero disciplin'd in Wisdom's school, In action ardent, in reflection cool; In bloom of years, who gain'd a glorious name. And reap'd, betimes, the Harvest of his fame. Before Quebec he chac'd the flying foe, And, quick as lightning, struck the fatal blow: By active valour made the day his own, And liv'd to see the num'rous foe o'erthrown: Crown'd by just Vict'ry drew his latest breath, As wont to smile on Danger, smil'd on Death; And, having bravely for his country fought, Died nobly as he wish'd, and calmly as he ought. The troops around him shar'd a gen'rous grief. And, while they gather'd Laurels, wept their Chief, Their Chief, to whom the great Montcalm gave way, And fell, to raise the Honours of the Day.

V. NEVILL.

# MRS. STOPFORD SACKVILLE'S MANUSCRIPTS

(EXTRACTS)

### General Wolfe to Lord George Sackville

1758, Feb. 11. Portsmouth-

"Cardin the American has a great deal of merit, but wants bread to eat. He is an excellent fellow for the woods; I am sure of my intelligence and therefore wish the field mareschal wou'd give him leave to serve the campaign with us, as he himself desired—5 or 6 shillings a day for the campaign (till other provision can be made) wou'd satisfy him fully. If this is thought too high a price for his services, I am ready to find him in food and shelter at my own expence. Hotham has a letter from Murray recommending him in the strongest manner upon former acquaintance in war. My information regards some later acts of his upon which I venture to present to your lordships and to the public as a good servant and a brave soldier, and beg he may be sent to us or after us. He is bold, circumspect, and more artful than his appearance bespeaks—has experience in the method of the American war beyond anybody that I can hear off, I hope we shan't lose such a subject so particularly adapted to this kind of work. I am at more trouble to find out proper people to forward the service than almost any body and succeed so ill when I have found'em that I am discourag'd from proceeding in my discoveries. Cardin was Lieut. of Shirley's or Pepperreles I know not which, and has but one thread bare old uniform to cover an indefatigable body spurred on to action by a daring mind.

"Death, wounds, sickness, and a necessary garrison, will diminish

our numbers. I give 3000 men for these different articles. Would it not be a wise measure to send a reinforcement of a good old battalion of 900 men to join us about the middle of June. With such an increase of strength we might undertake the great object, at least I see no reason at this distance to hinder it. Of the 800 men drawn from the 2d. Battalion under Major Hardy's command I can venture to say that we shant land 400, but the mischief they will do in the fleet by introducing diseases amongst them is still more to be apprehended. No nation in the world but this sends soldiers to war without discipline or instructions.''

In a postscript "The wind labours hard against us. Adam Livingstone of the S. Fusrs. and Delaune of Kingsley's are form'd by nature for the American war."

#### [1758] May 12th. Halifax. Same to same.

From Christopher Colombus' time to our days there perhaps has never been a more extraordinary voyage. The continual opposition of contrary winds, calms, or currents baffled all our skill and wore out all our patience. A fleet of men of war well mann'd, unincumber'd with transports, commanded by an officer of the first reputation, has been eleven weeks in its passage. We made the Madeir Islands, the Canaries, Bermudas, and lastly to crown all the Isle of Sable Two or three of the ships are sickly, the rest are in very good condition. The Admiral, who has omitted no care or precaution to advance the service, is labouring to fit the fleet for the sea with all possible despatch.

"We found Amherst's Regiment in the Harbour in fine order and healthy. Fraser's & Brigr. Lawrences Battalions were here, and both in good condition. The Highlanders are very usefull serviceable soldiers, and commanded by the most manly corps of officers I ever saw. Webb's, Otway's, and part of Monckton's battalions from Philadelphia came in with us. The detachments from this garrison are not joind, so that these battalions are very weak, scarce exceeding 300 men a regiment. About 500 Rangers are come, which to appearance are little better than *la canaille*.

"Brigr. Whitmore is expected every day with the artillery and the

troops from New York and Boston, Bragg's from the Bay of Fundy, and Anstruther's from Ireland.

"A great quantity of facines and gabions are made and other preparations of that sort, and a kind of small wooden fort (that takes to pieces) to secure our communication, instead of redoubts, which it seems the ground does not admit of, I have recommended a provision of pallisades, that the troops may be quiet in their camp and to fortify our different magazines. We are to expect opposition at our landing. It is suppos'd they have about 1500 irregulars, and that their garrison is augmented, because seven ships (three of which are said to be men of war of two decks) have got into the harbour. The battalions are in general healthy, and I daresay will do their duty well. They are irritated against the enemy and have a quarrel of their own to decide besides the public cause. As I foresaw long ago we shall find work to do. We are preparing a body of Light Foot to join to the Rangers, and I believe the whole will be put under the command of Capt. Scott. (Major of Brigade) who is an active officer and us'd to that kind of war. Capt. Raes came in yesterday, from Sr. C. Hardy's squadron off Louisbourg. They have had the severest weather imaginable, and the snow is still upon the ground of Cape Breton, tho' here the weather is fair and dry and warm. We don't entertain a right notion of L'Isle Royale in England; it is not possible to encamp there early in the year and to preserve the army. I wouldn't be understood by that to mean that we are prevented by the season at this time. We only wait the arrival of Brigadier Whitmore and the equipment of the squadron to set sail, and certainly we shall struggle against all difficulties and push the affair with vigour. As I told your Lordship we will put your cannon to proof." In a postscript, "Genl. Hopson delivers over the command of the troops this day to Brigadier Lawrence.

#### 1758 May 24th. Halifax—Same to same.

"The latter end of May and the fleet not sail'd! What are they about? Why are they not landed at Louisbourg? The troops have been all embark'd these 3 or 4 days (except Bragg's and two hundred men from Lunenburgh, who we suppose to be at hand), but the war ships are not quite ready, and if they were, the wind, rain, and fog of this last

week would have kept us here. The Admiral means to sail with the first air breeze and leave some of the ships of war to follow. He has reinforc'd Sir Charles Hardy with the Royal William and Prince Frederick, and is impatient to be gone. The enemy we are told has entrench'd the shoar of the Bay of Gaberouse (?) and has planted his artillery upon the beach thereof. If we find him strong in that part, we must try him at a greater distance, and where perhaps he is less prepared, our present notions are to land 3000 men at Miré and march towards Gaberouse, attack at the same time the further L'Orembeek and La Balleine, get footing in one or other of those little harbours, land a considerable body and march to the nether L'Orembeek which is not above a mile from the end of the North East harbour. A small body of men (by way of diversion) are likewise to be detached to the bottom of Gabarus Bay, there land and entrench themselves. While these operations are carrying on the Admiral threatens them at the harbours mouth with the gros of his squadron and makes all possible show of attack with the rest in that part of the Bay of Gabarouse where the Americans landed. If neither of these succeed we must fall upon some other method for we must get on shoar or perish all together in the attempt. It will be my part to command the body that goes round to Miré (3 battalions of the Light Foot).

Monckton has L'Orembeek with 2 battalions, and M. Lawrence manages the rest. Nothing, however, is yet fix'd upon, or can be fix'd till we see the object, and perhaps General Amherst may arrive in the meanwhile time enough to improve the present plan. When the troops &c. are landed we shall possess the Light House Point, canonade and bombard the Island Battery and destroy the shipping; then we proceed to open the trenches, and I shou'd imagine the attack will be directed against the Bastion Dauphin for reasons that the Engineers will give your lordship hereafter. General Abercrombie has with held the hautvitzers that were at New York amongst the stores intended for the siege of Louisbourg last year, and comprehended in the preparations of this year by which we shall be great sufferers. I hope Mr. Abercrombie has sufficient reasons to give for depriving us of so essential an article. We ought to have had a dozen of the largest sort for this business. I am told, too, that his Excellency had a great mind to keep the tools, in which case then was an end of the seige of Louisbourg altogether, and I believe it will now be found that we have not one pick axe too many.

"As here are no spare arms, nor no rifled barrell guns, the firelocks of these regiments will be so injur'd in the course of the seige that I doubt if they will be in any condition of service after it is over. Some of them are already very bad.

"Upon enquiry into the affairs of this country it appears evidently that the two principal posts and frontiers indeed of America are Halifax and Oswego, one of which we have already lost, and the other we must lose in 12 hours whenever it is attack'd. This is a most excellent harbour, is situated happily for the protection of our fishery and the interruption of the enemy's and for the annoyance of their navigation up the River St. Lawrence.

"The position of Oswego manifests its great utility. You secure an interest with the Indians and awe them; share the furr trade with the French; make war upon their colony from thence with great ease, cut off the communication with the Ohio by a squadron of armed vessels upon the lake, and, by obliging them to defend themselves at home, prevent the bloody ravages upon the frontiers of our colonies. Hitherto there has been the most profound ignorance of the nature of the war upon this continent and several abuses in regard to the troops. Ld. Howe will remedy the first if he outlives this campaign, and it belongs to your Lordship to do the rest. The army is undone and ruin'd by the constant use of salt meat and rum. They might often be provided with fresh meat as cheap as the other, and by stopping 2d. or 3d. a day for their provisions they would have no more left than was of use to them, and the extravagance hitherto unknown of furnishing an army with provisions without making them contribute a part of their pay towards it, would be at an end. The women, too, can very well afford by their industry to pay 2d. a day for their provisions; the idle ones that cannot are better away. The men's necessaries indeed are at a higher price in America than in Europe, but still in time of war they can afford 2d, a day for provisions, and in time of peace 3d.; the same at sea and at Gibraltar, which would be a considerable saving and a very reasonable one to the publick.

"Work done by the Soldiers for his Majesty's service is paid at a most exorbitant rate. We are indebted to Mr. Knowles for this piece of economy. Besides their provisions and their pay, the soldiers had a shilling a day for working at the fortifications of Louisbourg while he was governor of the town, and which has been continued in this province ever since.

"Some of the regiments of this army have 3 or 400 men eat up with the scurvy. All of them that are wounded or hurt by accident run great risk of their lives from the corrupted state of the blood, so your Lordship may rest assured that the enterprize of Louisbourg will cost a multitude of men, as contemptibly as the mareschal treated that subject. There is not an ounce of fresh beef or mutton contracted for even for the sick and wounded, which besides the inhumanity, is both impolitick and absurd. Mr. Boscawen, indeed has taken the best precautions in his power by ordering 600 head of live cattle for the fleet and army the moment he arrived. The curious part of this barbarity is that the scoundrels of contractors can afford the fresh meat in many places and circumstances as cheap as the salt. I think our stock of provisions for the seige full little, and none of the medicines for the hospitals are arriv'd, no horses or oxen for the artillery, &c.

"Too much money and too much rum necessarily affect the discipline of an army. We have glaring evidence of their ill consequences every moment. Serg'ts, drunk upon duty, 2 centries upon their posts and the rest wallowing in the dirt. I believe no nation ever paid so many bad soldiers at so high a rate. My Lord Loudoun whose management in the conduct of affairs is by no means admir'd, did adhere so litterally and strictly to the one, two and the firing by the impracticable chequer, &c. that these regiments must necessarily be cut off one after another unless they fall into some method more suited to the country and to the kind of enemy they have to deal with.

"I expect to be attak'd upon the march by the Mickmacks Abenaquis and Canadians. I have made the best preparations in my power, and that the time permits to beat 'em off, but I can't be sure that we shan't presently run into confusion and be very ill-treated, altho' I have with me some of the best of our battalions.

"Our cloaths, our arms, our accoutrements, nay even our shoes and stockings are all improper for this country. Ld. Howe is so well convine'd of it that he has taken away all the men's breeches.

"There are in America three or four excellent men in their way. Bradstreet for the Battoes and for expeditions is an extraordinary man; Rogers is an excellent partisan for 2 or 300 men, and young Clarke under my Lord Howe, whom nature has form'd for the war of this country, will make a good figure as an engineer for the field.

"One of our engineers, Green, is sick upon the continent, and instead of Matt. Clarke and Gordon, who I suppose were far off, we have got two boys, Montresore and Williamson, and to make up the 300 artillery we must carry off all that are here. Among the officers of the infantry we have pick'd six or seven assistant engineers enough to make out three brigades, six in each, besides the active Bastide and Major Kellar. Delaune and Cardin would be more useful here than can be conceived. We want just two such men to throw into the light infantry, and we want grave Carleton for every purpose of the war. Anstruther's regiment is sickly, and two or three of the ships are in so terrible a condition that they are hardly fit for sea.

"I am told that a certain Lt. Colonel of this army drew up a kind of representation and gave it to Col. Monro (signed by others I suppose as well as himself) setting forth the condition of the Fort William Henry; how incapable it was of further resistance, and giving it as their opinion that Col. Monro had made a very good defence and might with honour capitulate, &c., &c. But Cunninghame can tell you more of the matter."

1758 May 30th. "On board the Ludlow Castle at sea." James Cuninghame to Lord George Sackville. Extract. "During the recess their stay at Halifax afforded them, the generals did not fail to accustom the troops to what they were soon to encounter. Some military operations were Dayly carried on. They frequently landed in the boats of the transports, and practised in the woods the different manuvres they were likely to act on the Island of Cape Breton. In all these operations you may imagine that Genl. Wolfe was remarkably active. The scene afforded scope for his military genius."

## General Wolfe to Lord George Sackville

- "Amherst will tell your lordship the history of the seige (of Louisbourg). It turned out much as I expected in almost every particular. We treated the town with shot and shells, made a breach in the Bastion Dauphin, got the scaling ladders and everything ready for a general assault, and should have cut 'em to pieces in 24 hours if they had not surrender'd. Three of their men of war were burnt by an accidental shot that is supposed to have struck upon iron and fir'd some powder between decks. The other two were boarded by the boats of the fleet with incredible audace and conduct, and taken under the guns and within the reach of the musquetry of the ramparts. All the five were disabled before these accidents happen'd. They had a numerous garrison, but ill-regulated and ill-conducted. There appeared very little judgment and still less spirit in their defence. Our landing was next to miraculous. In all rencounters since the day we came ashoar the enemy has been worsted, or as they call it—ils se sont battu en retraite. Our trenches were carried within 40 or 50 yards of the glacis without mantelets, blinds, or sap.
- "If the whole fleet of France had been in the harbour (with a superiority without, bien entendu) they would have been all destroy'd, contrary to the opinion of most people here, sea and land, who had a terrible notion of their broadsides. By augmenting the artillery upon the shoar in proportion to their numbers we could n't fail of success.
- "The French had 12 great mortars in readyness to bombard our fleet if they had come into the harbour, notwithstanding which the place in its best condition is not tenable against a squadron of men-of-war, and on the land side 'tis an affair of ten days to people that knew the country.
- "The French have lost a considerable number of men and we on the contrary have suffered very little, so little that if we are carried directly to Quebec, notwithstanding the time of year, I am persuaded we shall take it.
- "Murray, my old antagonist, has acted with infinite spirit. The publick is indebted to him for great services in advancing by every method in his power the affairs of this seige. Amherst no doubt will do him all manner of justice, and your lordship will get him a regiment

or the rank of colonel. Little Smith, your acquaintance, has been with me the whole seige (for I have had the honour to command a detached corps posted from the Light House to the Baruchois). He is a most indefatigable, active, spirited man and has a just claim to your favour and friendship. He is slightly wounded with a musket ball, but will soon be well.

"The Highlanders have behaved with distinction, their company of Grenadiers has suffered, 3 of the officers kill'd and the fourth dangerously wounded. Amherst's regt. lost twenty or two and twenty Grenadiers the day we landed, most of them were drowned. I wouldn't recommend the Bay of Gabarouse for a descent, especially as we managed it.

"Your lordship will have heard the story of my Lord Dundonald's surprize, defeat, and death. Whitmore's Grenadiers took satisfaction for the affront that was put upon us by the neglect of this young officer and beat the French back into the town with loss. Our troops scalped an Indian Sachem the day we landed, and have killed some few of the black tribe since. They are intimidated and scarce dare appear before the most inconsiderable of our parties.

"The Admiral and the General have carried on public service with great harmony, industry, and union. Mr. Boscawen has given all and even more than we cou'd ask of him. He has furnish'd arms and ammunition, pioneers, sappers, miners, gunners, carpenters, boats, and is I must confess no bad fantassin himself, and an excellent back-hand at a seige. Sir Charles Hardy too in particular, and all the officers of the navy in general, have given us their utmost assistance with the greatest cheerfulness imaginable, I have been often in pain for Sr. Charles's squadron at an anchor off the harbour's mouth. They rid out some very hard sales of wind rather than leave an opening for the French to escape, but notwithstanding the utmost diligence on his side, a frigate found means to get out and is gone to Europe chargé de fanfaronades. I had the satisfaction of putting 2 or 3 haut-vitzer shells into his stern, and to shatter him a little with some of your lordships 24 pound shot before he retreated, and I much question whether he will hold out the voyage.

"The French troops and Marine se sentent un peu mortifié de leur disgrace, and think the terms hard that are imposed upon them. This blow well followed will give a blow to the American War, and tho' I am

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neither inhuman nor rapacious, yet I own it would give me pleasure to see the Canadian vermin sack'd and pillaged and justly repaid their unheard of cruelty. If my lady George knew my sentiments homme brutal et sanguinaire! she would cry. If his Majesty had thought proper to let Carleton come with us as enginier and Delaune and 2 or 3 more for the light foot, it wou'd have cut the matter much shorter, and we might now be ruining the walls of Quebec and compleating the conquest of New France. So much depends upon the abilities of individuals, in war that there cannot be too great care taken in the choice of men for the different office of trust and importance.

"Before I finish my letter it may not be amiss to observe that to defend the Isle Royale it is necessary to have a body of 4 or 5 thousand men in readyness to march against whatever force of the enemy attempts to land. In short there must be an army to defend the island; the reinforcement (to form a corps for this purpose jointly with the Garrison) should be sent in May and carried off in October. We must not trust to the place, or to any of those batteries now constructed for the defence of the harbour. When the ground is surveyed I shall do myself the honour to point out to your Lordship some proper spots for the construction of new batteries which may be done in ten days with fascines and be much stronger than any of those constructed with masonry. We have a report among us that my Lord Howe is killed. I will not believe such bad tidings. That brave officer will live, I hope, to contribute his share of courage and abilities to support our reputation and carry on our affairs with success.

"Whitmore is a poor, old, sleepy man, Blakeney lost St. Phillips by ignorance and dotage. Take more care of Louisbourg if you mean to keep it.

"The fascines and gabions made at Halifax were articles of the last degree of extravagance and bad economy, in the stile of that colony; but in other respects this must have been the cheapest seige that ever was carried on. The soldiers work'd with the utmost chearfulness, and upon one occasion several women turn'd out volunteers to dragg artillery to the batteries. If the enemy had waited for the assault they would [have] paid very dear for their presumption. The men were animated with perfect rage against 'em, and asked impatiently when we were to storm the town.

"I believe we might have cut off at least one half of the garrison the day we landed, if the country had then been as well known to us as it is now; but our measures have been cautions and slow from the beginning to the end, except in landing where there was an appearance of temerity.

"You know I hold Mr. Knowles in the utmost contempt as an officer, and engineer, and a citizen. He built a useless cavalier upon the Bastion Dauphin which fell to my share to demolish, and we did it effectually in a few hours. This famous Marine Cavalier was so constructed that the artillery of the bastion upon which it stood had hardly room to work, and the people were so little sheltered that we drove 'em from their guns with our musquetry.

"I have just learnt that the Shannon is under sail and I have learnt a great deal of bad news—that my Lord Howe is certainly kill'd, and Clarke kill'd, and Abercromby's army repulsed with considerable loss. We are told, too, that the Fleet wants provisions, that the anchors and cables of the transports have been so damag'd in Gaberouse Bay that an expedition up the River St. Lawrence is now impracticable.

"7th August. As the sea officers seem to think that no attack can be made upon Quebeck nor no diversion up the River St. Lawrence, why we dont send immediate reinforcements to Abercromby I cant devise. I have told Mr Amherst that if Lawrence has any objection to going I am ready to embark with a brigade or whatever he pleases to send up to Boston or New York, and if he does not find me some employment at Gaspie or somewhere else (supposing Lawrence goes to the Continent) I shall desire my demission to join my regiment upon the expedition. altho' I can harly hope to get home in time unless you are all gone to St Phillips. The Ministry of England do not see that to possess the Isle of Aix with 5 or 6 battalions and a fleet is one or other of the most brilliant and most usefull strokes that this nation can possibly strike. It stops up at once the harbours of Rochefort and Rochelle, obstructs and ruins the whole trade of the Bay of Biscay, inevitably brings on a sea fight which we ought by all means to aim at, and is the finest diversion that can possibly be made with a small force. St Martins (against which) (by the preparations) your force is probably bent, is difficult to take, and of little use when you get it, whereas the other has every advantage that I have mention'd and is besides of easy defence. If you will honour me with the command of 4,000 upon the island, and give me a good quantity of artillery, fascines, and sand bags. I will establish myself in such a manner as to make it no easy matter to drive me out, and I am very sure the French would exchange Minorca or anything else to get it back again.

- "We hear that Mr Provost has got a Commission as Brigadier. He is most universally detested by all ranks of people, and the ministers cannot do worse than let him serve in the army. He is fit for no sort of command, and does not know how to obey.
- "The arms, stores, &c. for Forbe's corps were so long in getting to him that the Cherokee Indians went off just as he was prepared to march. They were tir'd of waiting for such tardy warriors.
- "Notwithstanding the unlucky accident that has betaken the troops under Mr. Abercromby, I am fully persuaded if we act vigorously here for one summer more and can get people who will venture up to Quebec—and if you will afterwards (in the autumn) exert your utmost force in the West Indies by joining the superfluity of this army to troops from Europe—such advantage might be made of our present superiority as the enemy would not easily recover, and a peace may be procured upon your own terms, and better push on a year longer, or even two, if it be possible, than have the business to begin again—6 or 8 years hence.
- "I am afraid that by this time Mr. Abercromby is left to defend himself with the remains of his regular troops. The Americans are in general the dirtiest most contemptible cowardly dogs that you can conceive. There is no depending upon 'em in action. They fall down dead in their own dirt and desert by battalions, officers and all. Such rascals as those are rather an incumbrance than any real strength to an army.
- "I find that a Lieutenant of the first Regt. is put over Carleton's head. Can Sir John Ligonier allow his Majesty to remain unacquainted with the merit of that officer, and can he see such a mark of displeasure without endeavouring to soften or clear the matter up a little? A man of honour has a right to expect the protection of his Colonel and of the Commander of the troops, and he can't serve without it. If I was in Carleton's place I would n't stay an hour in the army after being pointed at and distinguish'd in so remarkable a manner.

"If you have been upon any business, as I believe you have, I heartily hope that you have been successful, and sorry since we have so little to do here that I couldn't assist at the head of my young Battalion."



# SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR BRIG\* GENERAL WOLFE

FEBY. 5<sup>th</sup> 1759

GEORGE R.

Secret Instructions for Our Trusty and Welbeloved James Wolfe Esqr., Brigadier General of Our Forces in North America, and Major General and Commander in Chief of a Body of Our Land Forces, to be employed on an Expedition against Quebec by the way of the River St. Laurence. Given at Our Court at St. James's the Fifth Day of February 1759, in the Thirty Second Year of Our Reign.

Whereas We have, by our commission bearing Date the Twelfth Day January last, appointed You to be Major General and Commander in Chief of a considerable Body of Our Land Forces directed to Assemble at Louisburg in our Island of Cape Breton, in order to proceed, by the way of the River St. Lawrence, as early as the Season of the year will admit of operations, by Sea and Land, in those Parts, to attack and reduce Ouebec; And whereas We have appointed Rear Admiral Saunders to be Commander in Chief of a Squadron of Our Ships to act in Conjunction, and cooperate, with our said Land Forces, in the execution of the above most important Service; We have thought fit to give you the following Instructions for Your Conduct. And that you may be fully informed of the Number of Our Forces destined for this Expedition against Quebec, and of the several Preparations, directed to be made for that Service; We have ordered to be delivered to you herewith Extracts or Copies of three Letters, wrote, by one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, to Major General Amherst, dated the 29th, of December, and the 12th, & 13th, of January, last past, together with a List of the said Troops, And of the Additional Artillery and Stores, ordered to be sent to Louisburg; Also Copies of Three Letters to Rear Admiral Saunders, dated the 9th., 12th. and 20th. of January last, and of one to Rear Admiral Durell, dated the 29th. of December last.

I—You are immediately, upon the Receipt of these our Instructions, to repair to Portsmouth, and there embark on board one of our Ships of War, and proceed, without Loss of Time, to Louisbourg in the Island of Cape Breton, where you are to take under your command the Troops we have ordered to rendez vous at that Place, on or about the 20th. of April, if the Season shall happen to permit; And you are, on your Arrival at Louisburg, to use all possible Diligence and Expedition, in concert with Rear Admiral Saunders, or the Commander in Chief of our Ships, in Embarking the Troops, Artillery, Stores, and all the other Requisites for the Expedition against Quebec, and to proceed therewith, at or about the 7th. of May, or as soon as the Season of the year shall permit, up the River St. Lawrence, and attack and endeavour to reduce Quebec: And it is our Will and Pleasure, that you do carry into Execution the said important operation with the utmost Application and Vigor.

2—In case, on your Arrival at Louisburg, you shall find, that the Troops, which we have ordered Major General Amherst to send, with all Expedition, to that Place, together with the Artillery, Stores, and all other Requisites for the Operation directed, shall, contrary to our Expectation, and by any unfavorable accidents, not be yet arrived at Louisburg, you are without Loss of a moment's Time, and by the most expeditious and sure means, to make the most pressing Instances to Major General Amherst, or the Commander in Chief of our Forces in North America, & to Rear Admiral Saunders, or the Commander in Chief of our Ships in North America, in order to quicken and expedite, with the utmost Diligence and Dispatch, all possible measures for most speedily assembling and collecting the said Troops at Louisburg, as well as the Artillery, Stores, and all Requisites, for the Expedition against Quebec.

3—In Case, by the Blessing of God upon Our Arms, you shall make Yourself Master of Quebec, Our Will and Pleasure is, that You do keep Possession of the said Place, for which purpose, You are to appoint, out

of the Troops under Your Command, a sufficient and ample Garrison, under the Command of such careful and able officer, as You shall judge best qualified for so important a Trust, effectually to defend and secure the said Place; And You will immediately make, in the best manner practicable, such Repairs to the Works, as you shall find necessary for the Defence thereof, until you shall receive further orders from Us; And You are forthwith to transmit an exact Account, to be laid before Us, of the State and Condition of the said Place.

4—As it cannot be foreseen, by what Time the attempt against Ouebec may have its' Issue, or what the number and State of our Troops and Ships may be, when that Service shall be over; and also considering, in Case, by the Blessing of God upon Our Arms, You should make Yourself Master of that Place, the necessary Garrison, That must be left for the Defence thereof; We judge it expedient to leave it to you, and Rear Admiral Saunders, or the Commander in Chief of Our Ships, to consider the State and Circumstances of things, as they shall then be found, and thereupon to determine what Ulterior operations, higher up the River St. Lawrence, (in Case the Navigation of that River shall be found safe for such Vessels as shall be best suited to the Service,) may be practicable and expedient, for making still farther and effectual Impressions on the Enemy, And in Case any such Ulterior operations, as above, in consequence of the Reduction of Quebec, shall be judged by You, and Rear Admiral Saunders expedient to be undertaken. Our Will and Pleasure is, that You do carry the Same into Execution, in the Manner which You shall think most conducive to the Good of Our Service: And You will not fail, as expeditiously as may be, to inform thereof Major General Amherst, Commander in Chief of Our Forces in North America, and, as far as may be, to concert the same with our said General, in order that the operations, in different Parts, may coincide, and mutually facilitate and strengthen Each other.

5—With regard to such of Our Forces under Your Command, as shall be remaining after the above Services are over (and having first, in Case of Success, left a strong Garrison at Quebec, as well as provided for the Defence of any other Posts, which you shall find necessary to be maintained,) You are to cause the same to be disposed of in such manner as Major General Amherst, or the Commander in Chief of our Forces in North America, shall direct, (for which purpose, You will take all timely

opportunities of corresponding with Major General Amherst;) But if, from the distant operations, in which the said Major General, or Commander in Chief, may happen to be engaged, Prejudice may arise to our Service, by waiting for such Orders, You are to Use Your best Discretion in disposing of our Troops in the manner the most Conducible to Our Service; And Our Will and Pleasure is, that You do then put Yourself under the Command of Major General Amherst, as Brigadier General in North America—

6—Whereas the Success of this Expedition will very much depend upon an entire Good Understanding between Our Land and Sea Officers, We do hereby strictly enjoin and require You, on Your part, to maintain and cultivate such a good Understanding and Agreement, and to Order, that the Soldiers under Your Command, shall man the Ships, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the Land Service, As the Commander in Chief of Our Squadron is instructed, on His Part, to entertain and cultivate the same good Understanding and Agreement, and to order the Sailors and Marines, under His Command, to assist Our Land Forces, and to man the Batteries, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the Sea Service; And in order to establish the strictest Union that may be, between You and the Commander in Chief of Our Ships, You are hereby required to communicate these Instructions to Him, as He is directed to communicate those, He shall receive from Us, to You.

7—You are to send constant and particular Accounts of all Your Proceedings, by Letter to one of Our Principal Secretaries of State; And You are to obey and follow all such orders, as You shall receive from Us under Our Royal Sign Manual, or from One of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

G. R.

### Head Quarters Montmorency

Augst. 1759,

To The Brigadiers

That the public Service may not suffer by the generals indisposition, He begs the Brigadiers will be so good to meet, and consult together for the public Utility and advantage, and to consider of the best method of attacking the Enemy.

If the French Army is attacked and defeated, the general concludes the town would immediately surrender because He does not find they have any Provisions in the place

The General is of opinion the army should be attackt in preference to the place, because of the difficulties of penetrating from the lower to the upper Town, in which attempt neither the Guns of the Shipping, or of our own Batteries could be of much use

There appears three methods of attacking this Army,

rst. In dry weather a large detachment may march in a day and a night so as to arrive at Beauport (fording the Montmorency 8 or 9 miles up) before day in the morning—it is likely they could be discover'd upon this march on both sides the River. If such a detachment penetrates to their intrenchment and the rest of the Troops are ready, the consequence is plain

2dly. If the Troops encamped here passed the Ford with the falling Water and in the night march on directly towards the point of Beauport, the light Infantry have a good Chance to get up the Woody Hill, trying different places and moving quick to the Right, would soon discover proper places for the rest. The upper Redoubts must be attackt and kept by a company of Grenadiers. Brigadier Monkton must be ready off the point of Beauport to land when our people have got up the Hill, for which Signals may be appointed

3dly. All the chosen Troops of the Army attack at the Beauport at Low water—a division across the Ford an hour before the other attack

N.-B. For the 1st it is enough if the Water begins to fall a little before day light or about it. For the other two it would be best to have it low water about half an hour before day. The General thinks the Country should be ruined and destroyed, as much as can be done consistant with a more capital opperation.

N. There are guides in the Army for the detachment question,

# Answer to the paper of the other side from the Brigadiers

To Genl. WOLFE

The natural Strength of the Enemy's situation, between the River St Charles and the Montmorency, now improved by all the Art of their Engineers, makes the defeat of the French Army if attackt there very doubtful. The advantage their easy communication on Shore has over our Attacks from Boats and the Ford of the Montmorency is evident from late experience, and it cannot be denied that that part of the Army which is proposed to march thro' the Woods nine miles up the Montmorency to surprize their Army is exposed to certain discovery, and consequently to the continual disadvantage of a Wood fight—But allowing we got footing on the Beauport side, the M. de Montcalm will certainly still have it in his power to dispute the passage of the St Charles, till the place is supplied with two months provisions (the utmost you can lye before it) from the Ships and Magazines above from which it appears they draw their subsistance.

We, therefore, are of opinion that the most probable method of striking an effectual Blow is by bringing the Troops to the South shore and directing our opperations above the Town. When we have established ourselves on the North Shore, of which there is very little doubt, the M. de Montcalm must fight us upon our own terms, we are between Him and his provisions and betwixt him and the French army opposing General Amhurst. If He gives us Battle and we defeat Him Quebec must be ours, and which is more all Canada must submit to His Majesty's arms, a different Case from any advantage we can hope for at Beauport, and should the Enemy pass the St Charles with Force sufficient to oppose this opperation, we can still with more ease and probability of success execute your third proposition, (in our opinion the most eligible of the three you have made) or any other attempt on the Beauport shore, necessarily weakened by the detachments made to oppose us above the Town.

With respect to the expediency of making an immediate attack, or the postponing it to be able the more effectually to prevent the Harvest and destroy the Colony; or with a view of facilitating the opperations of our Armies now advancing into the Heart of the Country, we cannot take upon us to advise, altho' we cannot but be convinced that a decisive affair to our disadvantage must enable the Enemy to make head against the army under the Command of General Amhurst already far advanced by the diversion this Army has made on this side.

# Plan of Opperations in consequence of the above answer

By the Brigadiers,

It is proposed to remove the Ordnance and Troops from Montmorency in three days, beginning with the heavy Artillery to morrow night, the Stores to be carried to the water side directly to gain time.

The Troops to be transported to the Isle of Orleans, some Corps may go from hence to-morrow night that they may assist in putting the Works at the point of Orleans in a good State of defence. The sick to be transported the day after to morrow, by which time provisions must be made for them in the Hospitals. 600 Men of the Marines and Hardy's Corps for the defence of Orleans—600 for point Levy and 1000 for the Batteries.

The Army to encamp on the other side of the Etchemin, as many Transports as will contain Two Months provisions to get up the first Opportunity. The boats of the Fleet will disembark 2500 Men, the remainder of the Troops or any part of them to be sent on board the ships which are to be stationed so as to be ready to land the Men as immediately as possible to sustain the first Corps that disembark from the Boats. There can be no difficulty to effectuate a landing in the night without the least loss, it may be done any where for an extent of a few Leagues, viz, from the heigth of St. John to Cap rouge River. Two attempts may be made, either of which succeeding is sufficient. Allowing the transports cannot get up in a few days the Enterprize need not for that Reason be delayed a moment. We have a sufficient number of Carts to make a dépot at the Camp of the Etchemin, and we have a further resource from our Boats which at all times we know, without interruption, can pass and repass the Town. Another method of effecting the landing on

the North Shore, 2000 Men to embark at the Point of Levy in the Boats at low water the middle of the night: By break of day they will have passed the Town, have arrived and disembarked at a proper place for the purpose half a League above the River Cap Rouge. The same night the Troops to move up to the Camp of the Etchemin already mentioned Previous to this it will be right to fill the Ships already above the Town with as many Troops as they will contain. That may be done from Gorham's Post in three nights without giving the smallest jealousy by the Boats already above, but for this purpose the Ships already above must fall down to a proper Station. The Ships already above the Town will contain for the requisite time 2000 Men, consequently 4000 Men may in one tide be landed without the least jellousy given to the Enemy, and the remainder may be brought over with any number of Artillery, the next from the Etchmin Camp.

Whitehall Janry 9th. 1759.

Rear Adml. Saunders.

Sir,

I send you inclosed a copy of my Letter of the 29th. past, to Rear Adml. Durell, by which you will be informed of the Orders, that the King has thought proper to give him, with regard to the Disposition of such of His Majesty's Ships, now under your command, as are already in America; And you will take the earliest opportunity to renew the said orders, in the strongest manner, as nothing can be so essential to the Success of the important Expedition against Quebec, as effectually blocking up the River St. Lawrence, as early in the year, as shall be practicable.

I am also to signify to you the King's Pleasure that you do, agreeably to what is mentioned in the latter Part of my Letter to Mr. Durell, give the necessary Orders for not less than Four of the Ships of the Line, now under your command, to proceed to Halifax, so as to arrive there by the month of April.

I am &c.

W. PITT.

#### Pitt to Saunders

Whitehall, 12th. Janry. 1759.

Rear Adml. Saunders,

Sir.

His Majesty having directed the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to take up Twenty Thousand Tons of Transport Vessels, & to cause the same to be victualled with Six Months Provisions for ten thousand Men, & to be provided with Bedding & fitted in every respect for the Reception of Troops, at the rate of one Ton and a half a Man; & the King having also ordered that the said Vessels, so fitted & provided, should be put under your Command, I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that you do forthwith send all the Transport Vessels above mentioned to New York in America; with all Expedition, under such Convoy, as you shall judge proper; & you will direct such officer, as you shall think fit to appoint, to assist in the Embarcation of such part of His Majesty's Forces in North America, as are ordered to be embarked for Louisbourg together with Artillery, & Stores; for which purpose you will direct the officer, whom you shall to appoint as above, on his, Arrival at New York, immediately to acquaint Major General Amherst, or the Commander in chief of the King's in North America therewith, & deliver to him the inclosed Letter; And having fitted the said Transport Vessels with all possible Expedition for the Reception of the Troops, Artillery & Stores destined for Louisburg, that he should concert with the said General, in what Divisions, & at what place or places, either at New York or elsewhere, it may be most proper & convenient to embark the same, in order to their proceeding, as soon as shall be practicable, without Loss of time to Louisburg, under such Convoy or Convoys, as shall be judged necessary & most expedient to allot them.

I am further to acquaint You, that a Quantity of Artillery & Ordnance Stores are now embarked on board Vessels in the River, which are ordered to proceed, as soon as possible to Spithead, & there to put themselves under your command; And I am now to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do forthwith cause such a Disposition to be made of the Arms, Tents &c. &c. on board the said Vessels, & such part thereof to be taken out of the same, as shall be directed by the Board of Ordnance, after which the said Vessels are to proceed, with the Artillery, Stores,

&c. &c. on board to Louisburg, under such Convey, & at such time as you shall judge proper, taking Care, that they do sail, so as to arrive there by the End of April at latest; & with regard to such part of the arms, Tents, &c, &c. which shall be so taken out as above; it is the King's pleasure, that you do send the same to New York, on board the Transport Vessels, ordered, in the former part of Letter, to proceed to that place, where the said Tents, Arms &c. &c. are to be put on shore, & delivered to Major Genl. Amherst, or such person, as he shall appoint to receive the same: And you are also to direct two Companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, now at Portsmouth, to be embarked on board the said Transport Vessels destined for New York, at which place, the said two companies are to be disposed, as Major Genl. Amherst, shall direct.

I am, &c.

W. PITT.

Whitehall Januy. 12th. 1759.

Major Genl. Amherst.

Sir

This Letter will be delivered to you by the Officer, who will be directed by Rear Adm. Saunders (appointed Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships in Nt. America) to assist in the embarkation of the Troops, Battering Train, Stores &c., which you have been order'd to send to Louisburg, to be employed in the Expedition against Ouebec; and the said officer is accordingly order'd to proceed to New York, with the Transport Vessels, which I acquainted you, in my Letter of the 29th past, were preparing here for that Service; It is therefore the King's Pleasure, that, on the arrival of the said officer, you do use the utmost diligence, in concert with him, in causing any necessary repairs to be made to the said Transport Vessels, & in fitting them for the reception of the Troops, Artillery, & Stores, at such Place or Places, as you, and the said officer, shall judge most proper & convenient for the Embarkation of the same, and that they do proceed with all possible Expedition to Louisburg; and it is the King's Pleasure, that you cause the said Troops, according as any parts of them, & the Transports which are to

carry them, shall be first ready, to sail in such competent & proper Divisions, as shall be judged most expedient for avoiding all Delays, and conducive to the Expediting this most essential service; and as the Success of the most important Enterprize against Quebec, depends in so great measure, on the Troops assembling at Louisburg in due time, I cannot too strongly enforce to you the necessity of exerting your utmost care and Application, that the Troops, Artillery, & Stores, be all rendezvous'd at Louisburg, as near as possible, by the time prescrib'd in my Letter of the 29th past.

Having in my letter above mention'd of the 29th. past, acquainted you, that the King had been pleased to order 10,000 Arms, & 6000 Tents to be forthwith sent to New York for the Service in North America; I am now to inform you, that 2000 of the said Arms, & 2000 of the Tents, will be sent from hence to Louisburg directly, for the use of any of the Troops order'd to assemble there:—The remaining Quantities, viz. 8000 Arms, & 4000 Tents, are put on board the Transports sent to New York, & will be there landed, & deliver'd to you, or such person as you shall appoint to receive them, and you will dispose of the same, as you shall judge most expedient for the service of the Troops, which are to be employed on the continent of No. America.

I am &c.

W. PITT.

Whitehall Janry. 13th. 1759.

Major Genl. Amherst.

Sir,

Brigadier General Wolfe having represented that it will be of the greatest Utility to the Health of the Troops, employed on the Expedition under his Command, to have a Quantity of Molasses to make Spruce Beer, and also of Rum, to serve the said Troops for Six Months, which Articles, He informs me, You will be able to procure at New York, and will know the Quantities of Each, necessary for the Time above mentioned; I am, therefore, to recommend it to you to provide, and send to Louisburg, if possible, with the Troops, an ample Supply of each of the above Articles for Six Months, or for as near that Time, as you shall be

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able to procure; But it is the King's express Pleasure, that You do not, on account of the Molasses, and Rum, above mentioned, delay, for one Moment, the Embarkation, and Sailing, of the Troops, agreeable to the Orders sent you in my Letter of the 29th. past: But you will not fail to order Quantities of Molasses and Rum, and particularly of the latter; to be sent after the Troops, at such Times, and in such Parcels, as you shall be able to procure the same, and shall judge proper.

I am now to inform You, that It has not been thought necessary to send out any new Hospital for the Expedition under Brigadier Wolfe, as that, already in North America, is so fully provided, that It is judged sufficient to furnish what shall be wanted for the Troops to be sent to Louisburg, as well as for those, that will remain on the Continent; You will therefore direct such a proportionable number of the Officers of the Hospital in North America, as you shall judge proper, to proceed with the Forces to Louisburg, in order to attend the Expedition against Quebec.

It being of the utmost Consequence, that all the Troops, destined for the Expedition against Quebec, should be assembled at the Rendezvous by the Time appointed, You will not fail to use the most particular Diligence, in making the necessary Disposition for the Defence and Security of Louisburg, and Nova Scotia, during the Absence of such part of the Troops, as are to be taken from those Places, so that no Delay may arise to this most essential and important operation, on that, or any other Account.

Tho' a considerable Quantity of Provisions will be put on board the Transports sent from England, and Care will be taken to send out a further Supply, with all possible Expedition; Yet, It is the King's Pleasure, that You should use all Means in Your Power to collect and send, from time to time, such Quantities of Provision, as You shall be able to procure, and as shall be necessary for the Troops under the Command of Brigadier Wolfe.

I am &c.

W. PITT.

Whitehall Janry. 20th. 1759.

Rear Admiral Saunders.

Sir,

By my Letter of the 12th, Instant, You were ordered to cause such a Disposition to be made of the Arms, Tents, &c. &c. on board the ordnance vessels, put under your command, and such part thereof to be taken out of the same, as should be directed by the Board of Ordnance, after which the said Vessels were to proceed to Louisburg, and the Arms, Tents, &c &c, which should be so taken out, were to be put on board the Transport Vessels ordered to New York; I am now to signify to you The King's Pleasure, that, in case the Disposition above-mentioned of Arms, Tents &c. &c, cannot be made in the Downes, or at Spithead, without causing the least Delay to the Sailing either of the Ordnance Vessels, or of the Transports for New York, You are to forbear making the said Disposition in Europe, but You will direct the Ordnance Vessels, as well as the Transports, to proceed, with all Expedition, to New York, at which Place you will order the Arms, Tents, &c &c, mentioned in the inclosed List, to be separated and taken out, with as little Loss of Time as may be, and delivered to Major Genl. Amherst, or the Person he shall appoint to receive the same, after which the Ordnance Vessels are to continue their Voyage to Louisburg, under such Convoy as shall be judged proper, and so as to arrive there by the End of April, as directed by my Letter aforementioned of the 12th. Instant.

I am &c

W. PITT.

Whitehall. Decr. 29th. 1758.

Majr. Genl. Amherst.

Sir,

His Majesty having nothing so much at heart, as to improve the great and important Advantages gained the last Campaign, as well as to repair the Disappointment at Ticonderoga, and, by the most vigorous &

decisive Efforts, to establish, by the Blessing of God on his Arms, His Majesty's just and indubitable Rights, and to avert all future Dangers to His Majesty's Subjects in No. America, I am now to acquaint You, that the King has come to a Resolution to allot an adequate Proportion of His Forces in No. America, (amounting as You will see by the inclosed Paper, containing the Destination of the Troops) to 12005 Men, to make an Attack upon Quebeck, by the River St. Lawrence, against which Place they are to proceed from Louisburg, as early in the Year, as on or about, the 7th, of May, if the Season shall happen to permit, under the Direction of Brigadier Genl. Wolfe, whom the King has appointed for the Command of that operation, and who will have the Rank of Major General, for that Expedition only; And I am to signify to You His Matys. Pleasure, that you do cause the several Regiments, appointed by the said List, to be employed accordingly on that Service, without making any change therein, unless some Alteration should be found absolutely necessary, from extraordinary Inconvenience, that might otherwise arise to the Service, from the unforeseen Circumstances, or Situation, of any particular Regt. or Regimts., in the Allotment, herewith transmitted, of the Forces destined for the above operation; and, in Case, it should be found absolutely necessary to change any Regt, or Regimts. in the said Allotment, you are to take especial Care, that, notwithstanding any such Change of particular Corps, the Total of Regular Forces, prescribed & fixed for this Service, do amount to the full Number, allotted, in the inclosed Paper, for the same.—It is also the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith cause such Part of the Troops above mentioned, except Genl. Bragg's Regt. which is already at Louisburg, to be so disposed, that they may be ready, and embarked at New York, Boston, Halifax, or such other Place, as shall be most convenient, on board the Transports, which shall be provided for that purpose, in such time, as that all the Troops abovenamed for this Service, may be rendezvoused at Cape Breton, as nearly as may be, on, or about, the 20th. of April, if the Season shall happen to permit, and you will, without Loss of time, dispatch all necessary Orders, and in particular to the Governor, or Commander in Chief at Halifax, and to the Govr. of Louisburg, with regard to any Troops in their respective Departments, destined for this Expedition, as by the inclosed State of the Troops, in order that no Disappointment may happen, in proceeding from Louisburg, in case the Season permits, by the River St. Lawrence to Quebeck, on, or about, the

7th, of May, as directed in the former part of this Letter; and you will not fail to order, forthwith, all proper Provision, (and particularly fresh Provision as far as may be) to be immediately procured for the Subsistence and Refreshment of the Troops, during the Stay they may happen to make at Cape Breton, the Place appointed for their Rendezvous, and that all the Preparations there and Elsewhere, for this Service, be quicken'd and pressed, with the utmost Diligence. And you will particularly direct, that the Battering Train, and the Stores, of every kind thereunto belonging, (which, by your Letter of Augt. 28th., you informed me, was sent to Halifax, under the Command of Col. Williamson, and which, I am now informed, by the office of Ordnance, has been sent to Boston) be forthwith put into the most perfect Repair, and Order, for immediate Service, so as that the same may be in readiness to be employed on the Expedition against Quebeck, as early as is already pointed out in this Letter; and the necessary Additions, to the said Train & Stores, are now preparing, and will shortly be sent from England: You will also direct Colonel Williamson, & the Chief Engineer, to obey all such Orders. as he or they shall receive from the Lieutt. General & Board of Ordnance. with regard to the detaching Part of the Royal Regt. of Artillery, and Engineers on this Expedition, and you are to cause the Battering Train & Stores, together with three Companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery to be embark'd, in such manner as you shall judge proper, and sent to Louisburg, so as to be there as near as may be by the 20th, of April.

Twenty thousand Tons of Transport Vessels are actually preparing here, and will shortly proceed to New York, to be in readiness to Convey the Troops abovementioned to Louisburg, from such Ports, and in such Divisions, as you shall judge most expedient for the Service proposed.

But to prevent, as far as possible, any Delays or Disappointments happening in this essential Service, from a Deficiency in the Transports to be sent from England, either on Account of their late Arrival from England, or from any of the same being rendered, thro' Accidents during their Voyage, unfit, when they arrive, for immediate Service; It is the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith take up, at such Place or Places, as you shall judge proper, in Nt. America, Six thousand Tons of Transport Vessels, or any Additional Quantity, that you shall find necessary, for the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and the other Requisites, to be

employed in the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, and you will order the said Vessels to be fitted and prepared, in every Respect, and ready, wherever you shall direct, for the Embarkation of the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and all other Requisites for this Service-And that you may not fail being able timely to procure a sufficient Quantity of Transports. I am particularly to recommend it to you, and you are hereby directed to order an Embargo to be laid, as soon as necessary, on all Ships in the different Ports of the respective Provinces in Nt. America, the Governors of which were directed by my Letter of Septr. 18th (Copy of which was transmitted to you) to comply with any Application from you for this purpose, And you will direct the said Embargo to continue until such time as all the Transport Vessels, with the Troops, the Train, the Stores, and all the other Requisites for the Expedition against Ouebeck, shall be actually sail'd for their Destination; But I am persuaded, you will, of yourself, see the Necessity of not mentioning the above Circumstance in your Orders to the Governors to lay such an Embargo; And as it may possibly happen, notwithstanding the greatest Care to the contrary, that all the Transports necessary for conveying the Troops, Train & Stores, may not be altogether ready so nearly at the same time as is to be wished; I am to signify to you, that it is the King's Pleasure, that you do send the above Forces to Louisburg (so as that they may be there by the Time above directed) in such Divisions as you shall judge proper, without making the whole of this important Service wait, on Account of some Part only of the Troops, destined for the same, not being quite ready; and, in that case, such remaining Part thereof is to be sent, with all Expedition, as soon after as possible, so as to join the main Body, assembled at Cape Breton, for the Service before directed.

His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you, to keep up, and raise, as considerable a number of Rangers, as may be practicable, for the various operations of the Campaign; And in particular, that you do not fail to cause a Body of the said Rangers amounting to not less than 600, to be sent with the Forces to Cape Breton, for the Expedition to Quebeck, but, at the same time, it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you shall not, on account of the said Rangers, should they not happen to be ready, detain the Troops from repairing with all Expedition, to their Destination, as directed, and you are to order the said Rangers, when ready, to follow and join the Troops as soon after as possible.



# Le 7 au 12

I'ai es-é deproyé par en le mis de Monrulm au misodes 9. avec ord no de faire une 1'il crow possible, ce levain de discorde qui fermentois es qui pen: stre aurour mis. an bren du Service ainsi notre years of fair encore les avanur. L'interese public est la reg à dever de marche, en il a dans une dante l'espris ce onu 2 da Femistorles frapper, mais everes. El parun que le mis elst. a placas suis: Jana rouran ces trainmerris les impressions de subalvarnes inverens à brusiller, que ses proprese Weir. Ca qui est cepresies. se his donn were affaire c'ors l'arnour propre evene jalousie de vivalete, formas Sur legal barisans iere browillens. Ser apparance I am also to signify to you His Matys. further Pleasure, that you do forthwith take the proper steps to engage Colonel Gridley (whom you appointed on the Death of Mr. Meserve, to command the Carpenters at the Siege of Louisburg) or such other officer as you shall think proper, to collect the number of Eighty Carpenters, and to proceed with them without loss of time, to Cape Breton, in order that the said Carpenters may be employed under the Command of Colonel Gridley, on such Works, as shall be necessary for the operations of the Troops in the above Expedition, or in such other manner, as the Comr. in Chief of the King's Troops on that Expedition shall judge proper;—And in Case you shall think it expedient, you will endeavour to prevail on Mr. Gridley, to decline accepting any Command in the Troops of his Province, the ensuing Campaign, in order that his whole time & attention may be employed on the above essential Service.

It having been represented that a Number of Schooners and Sloops, together with whale Boats will be of the greatest Utility to the Operations to be undertaken by ye way of ye River St. Lawrence; It is the King's Pleasure, that you do immediately cause a considerable Number of Schooners & Sloops, not less than 40, as far as may be, to be provided. in the most expeditious manner, and held in readiness at New York, for the Service of the River St. Lawrence, and 70 Whaleboats to be built, with the utmost Diligence, which Schooners, Sloops, and Whale Boats are to be sent to Louisburg for the same Service, and you will exert every means in your Power to forward this essential Service, in such manner, that the above Number of Schooners, Sloops, & Whale Boats, may not fail, on any Pretence whatever, to be finished by the 1st. April, at the latest, and that they do proceed to Louisburg with the Troops order'd to assemble there; You will see by the inclosed copy of my Letter to the Lieut. Governor of New York, that he has the strongest Orders to give you all possible Assistance in the Execution of this very necessary Work, and you will accordingly concert with him, the proper Measures for the punctual and full Performance of the said Service, so as that no Delay or Disappointment may happen therein—

You will observe in the Allotment herewith transmitted to you of the Forces to be employed against Quebeck, that the 28th Regiment is to be taken from the Garrison of Louisburg; And in order to provide for the Security of that most important Place, during the Absence of the said Regiment, it is the King's Pleasure, that you do employ all proper Means in order that a Battalion of the Provincials, consisting of not less than 1000 Men, may in Case it be consistent with the Terms of their Enlistments, as well as with their Inclinations, repair to Louisburg, & there remain in Garrison, on the express Condition of being relieved, at the End of the Campaign, by His Majesty's Regular Forces: And you will also take proper and effectual Measures for the Safety and Defence of the Town of Halifax, and the Province of Nova Scotia, during the Absence of such Part of the Troops, now there, and which are destined for the Expedition above mentioned.

I come now to that Part of the operations for the ensuing Campaign, in No. America, which are to be under your own immediate Direction, and which from their Importance, Difficulty and Extent, as well as from the Correspondence and Intercourse that they will constantly demand with the several Governors, throughout the whole of North America, must necessarily require the Presence of the officer, on the Continent of America, vested with the Command in Chief of the King's Forces there, by His Commission under the Great Seal; and His Majesty hopes, from your distinguished Zeal for the Honor of his Arms, and your known Abilities, & Experience, that the Execution of a Plan of Operations of such Weight, and formed at such Expence for an Irruption into Canada, will be attended with a happier & more honorable Event than heretofore.

I am therefore to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do immediately concert the properest Measures for pushing the operations of the Campaign, with the utmost Vigour, early in the year, by an Invasion of Canada, with such Part, as you shall judge proper of His Majesty's Troops (not allotted as above for the Expedition against Quebeck,) in conjunction with such a numerous Body of the Forces of the Northern Provinces, as you will have seen by the copy of my Letter of the 9th. Inst. to the Governors thereof, it is hoped, will, in consequence of those pressing Orders to that Effect, which are renewed and enforced in the strongest Manner by my Letter of this Date, (copy of which I now inclose) be ready to join in this most important Service, and to this great End, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do attempt an Invasion of Canada, by the way of Crown Point, or La Galette, or both, according as you shall judge practicable, and proceed, if practicable, and attack Montreal, or Quebec, or both of the said Places successively with such

of the Forces as shall remain under your own immediate Direction in one Body, or at one, and the same time, by a Division of the sd. Forces into separate & distinct operations, according as you shall, from your knowledge of the countries, thro' which the War is to be carried, & from emergent circumstances, not to be known here, judge all, or any of the said attempts to be practicable. It is also the King's Pleasure that you should give a due attention to the Lake Ontario and facilitate, as far as possible, consistent with other main operations of the Campaign, the Re-establishment of the important Post of Oswego, a Place so highly essential to His Majesty's Possessions in North America in time of Peace, as well as War; And you will accordingly not fail to concert with the Lieutenent Governor of New York, within whose Province Oswego is situated, all necessary and effectual Measures for re-establishing that Port, in the Course of the ensuing Year, and for building a sufficient and proper Fort for the Security and Defence thereof, and the inclosed Copy of my Letter to Mr. De Lancey, will shew you, that he has similar Orders, to concert with, and assist you, in the Execution of this very important Service.—It were much to be wished that any operations on the Side of Lake Ontario could be pushed on as far as Niagara, and that you may find it practicable to set on foot some Enterprise against the Fort there, the Success of which would so greatly contribute to establish the uninterrupted Dominion of that Lake, and, at the same time, effectually cut off the Communication between Canada, and the French Settlements to the South; and the Utility and Importance of such en Enterprize against Niagara is, of itself, so apparent, that I am persuaded, it is unnecessary to add anything to enforce your giving all proper Attention to the same, as far as the great and main Objects of the Campaign shall permit.

You are already by my Letter of the 9th. Inst. directed to exert your utmost Endeavours to incite & encourage the several Provinces to the full & due Execution of the King's Commands; and the Success of the ensuing decisive Campaign, depends so much on commencing the several operations as early as shall be practicable, and thereby preventing the last Efforts, there is Reason to suppose the Enemy is preparing to make, to save their Possessions, in No. America, from total Ruin, that you cannot be too urgent with the Provinces to quicken and expedite the Levies, so as that the said Provincial Troops may be assembled at the Rendez-vous, and be, in every respect, ready, in Conjunction with the

regular Forces, to open the Campaign by the 1st. of May, as nothing can contribute to much to the Success of the operations to be undertaken in different Parts of No. America, and particularly of the attempt on Quebeck, as putting the Forces early in Motion, on the other Frontiers of Canada, and thereby distracting the Enemy, and obliging them to divide their strength.

With regard to the Southern operations, I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do continue Brigadier Genl, Forbes in that Command, or, if his Health shall not permit him to undertake that Service, that you do appoint such other officer as you shall think proper to command such Forces as you shall judge proper to leave in the Southern Provinces, and that Brigr. Forbes, or such other Officer do proceed, without Loss of time, to Pensylvania, or such other of the Southern Provinces, as shall be thought most expedient in order to concert any operations, to be undertaken by the said Troops, who, in conjunction with the Forces, directed by my Letter of the 9th. Inst. to the Southern Governors, to be raised in those Provinces, are to be employ'd, under the Command of Brigr. Forbes, or such officer whom you shall appoint as above, on any such offensive operations as you shall judge most expedient for annoying the Enemy, and most efficacious towards removing all future Dangers from the Frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the continent of America.

You will have observed by my Letters to the Governors that His Majesty has been pleased to promise, that His Commissaries shall issue Provisions to the Men, raised by the several Provinces, in the same Proportion & Manner, as is done to the Rest of the King's Forces; I am therefore to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do give the necessary Directions to all the Commissaries, & other officers, who may have the charge of the Provisions, to furnish the said men, with the same, in the Proportion and Manner above mentioned. For which Purpose the contractors have received Directions to have constantly in Store, a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, as well for the Regular National Troops, as for the Provincials, which shall be raised in Consequence of His Matys Orders; And it is the King's Pleasure, that you should have a particular Account of the same, and that no Provisions should be deliver'd to the Provincial Troops, but in Consequence of an Order from you, or from the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, in those

Parts, where the said Provisions may be wanted,—And you will, in case of necessity, draw Bills for any extraordinary Expences incurred for this Service. And I am here particularly to recommend it to you, as a principal Means to preserve the Health of the Men, that you do cause them to be furnished with fresh Meat whenever the Situation & Circumstances of of the Troops shall make the same any Ways practicable; And you will take care, that, for so long a time as fresh Meat shall be provided for the Forces, the inclos'd Clause of the Contract be duely observed on the part of the Contractors, or their Agents, and that the Delivery of Provisions of Beef and Pork by the Contractors, be accordingly, in part, or in the whole, suspended, and a proportionable Allowance only made for the several other Species, as shall be agreed upon, and certified by you.

Such a considerable Number of Arms & Tents have been already sent to No. America, that it is hoped, a sufficient Quantity will be found there for the service of the next Campaign; I am, however, to acquaint you, that the King has been pleased to order 10,000 Arms, and 6000 Tents to be forthwith sent to New York for the Service in North America, which you will cause to be distributed according as the same shall be necessary.

In my Letter of the 9th. Inst. You were directed to refit and build Boats for the Service of the Troops on the Lakes, and I am not to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do procure such a number of Battoe Men, as you shall judge necessary for the Boats attending the Troops, and Men sufficient for navigating the Vessels.

The King having been pleased to direct, that the two Engineers & the officers to act as Engineers, as mention'd in the inclos'd List, should be employed on the Expedition against Quebeck, you will give the necessary Orders for the said Engineers and Officers to repair, in due time, to Louisburg, and to serve accordingly under the Command of Major General Wolfe.

I am &c.,

W. PITT.

Whitehall Decr. 29, 1758.

Rear Adml. Durell.

Sir,

I am now to inform You in Confidence, that His Majesty has thought proper to direct a considerable Number of His Land Forces to be employed, as early in the year as possible, on an Expedition up the River St. Lawrence for the Attack of Quebec; and in order effectually to prevent, and cut off from Quebec, all Succours of Troops and Provisions, from Europe, by the River St. Lawrence, & at the same time to facilitate, by all means, the Success of so very important, & decisive an Operation; I am to signify to you the King's Pleasure, that you do forthwith use the utmost Diligence in repairing, and refitting, all the Ships, under your command, so as that the Same may be, in every respect, ready for actual Service, as early in the year as possible; And as soon as ever the Navigation of the Gulph and River St. Lawrence shall be practicable, It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you do repair with the Squadron, under your Command, to the River St. Lawrence, and that yo do establish Your Cruize, as high up the said River as the Isle de Bic, where You are to Station your Ships in such a manner as may most effectually prevent any Succours whatever passing up that River to Ouebec: And you are to remain in the Station abovementioned, till you shall receive further orders from Admiral Saunders, who is appointed Commander in Chief of the King's Ships in North America, and who will soon proceed to those Parts, to take upon Him the said Command.—I am further to acquaint you, that, It being the King's pleasure, that some of the Ships of Admiral Saunder's, Squadron (already forward in their preparations) which shall be the earliest ready, should very shortly sail for North America. You may expect the Arrival of not les than Four Ships of the Line at Halifax, by the Month of April.

> I am &c, W. Pitt.

#### Pitt to Amherst.

Whitehall Febry, 10th, 1759.

Major General Amherst.

Secret.

Sir,

That you may be fully informed of all the Operations, directed to be carried on, the ensuing Campaign, in No. America, I have His Majesty's Commands to send you inclosed a Copy of the Secret Instructions the King has been pleased to give to Brigadier General Wolfe; by the Fourth Article of which You will observe, that he is ordered to concert, as far as may be, with you any ulterior operations, which shall be judged expedient to be undertaken, higher up the River St. Lawrence, in consequence of the Reduction of Quebec; And it is the King's Pleasure that You do accordingly as far as may be, act in Concert with Brigadier Wolfe, with regard to any such Operations as above.

It is also His Majesty's further Pleasure, that you should correspond with Brigadier Wolfe, and given him, in due Time, such Directions as shall be necessary for the Disposition of the Troops, and putting himself under Your Command, when the several Services up the River St. Lawrence are over, agreeably to the orders contained in the 5th. Article of his Instructions.

It being of the utmost Importance, in case Brigr. Genl. Wolfe shall succeed in the Expedition under his Command, that a sufficient and ample Supply of Provisions be timely provided for the Troops, that shall be judged necessary to be left, during the Winter, at Quebec, as well as in the other Posts which may happen to be found expedient to maintain; I am to signify the King's Pleasure to you, that you be particularly attentive to collect, and send, in due time to Quebec, and any other Places, that you shall judge necessary, such a Quantity of Provisions, of all Speices, as shall be fully sufficient for the subsistance of the Troops that shall be to remain in those Posts, together with every other Supply, Succour & Assistance that may be necessary, so as that they may not, on any Account, suffer any Want, during the Time that the Season of the Year shall render the Communication with the above Places imprac-

ticable; And tho' very large Quantities of Provisions are ordered to be sent from hence to Louisburg, you will not, on that account, lessen your Diligence & Attention to a Service of this very great Consequence, and thereby run the least Hazard of a Disappointment, in case, the Provisions, from England, should not arrive in due time in North America.

I am &c.,

W. PITT.

# Saunders to —— (? Admiralty)

6th. June 1759.

Sir

On the 1st. ulto. I wrote to you in some hurry by an officer of Artillery going to England from Halifax, and omitted to acquaint you therein, that besides his Majesty's Ships mention'd in my said Letter, I found riding here, the Richmond and Lowestoffe, the former of which had arrived from Plymouth the 14th. and the latter from Virginia the 20th. of April last; The Lowestoffe had been 24 hours on Shore 4 Leags. S. W. from Bermudas, but making little or no Water. She went on to Halifax, where she has been hove down, and the Damage she received found to be very inconsiderable.

Rear Admiral Durell sailed from Halifax the 5th. ulto. being detained till that time, by contrary Winds: On the 12th. all the Ships that went in with me being refitted, I unmoored, and, on the 13, sailed from Halifax with his Majesty's Ships named in the Margin, leaving the Lowestoffe & Hunter Sloop to convoy, to Louisburg, any Transports that might arrive, and the three Fire Ships & Europa armed Vessel to take in Troops, in case such Transports as did arrive in Time, were not sufficient to contain them: In my passage out of the harbor I was joined by the Somerset (Rear Admiral Holmes) and the Terrible, both which Ships proceeded into the Harbor, with Orders to refit, and join me at Louisburg, with all possible Dispatch; The Rear Admiral shifted his Flag on board the Dublin and proceeded with me to Louisburg, where we anchored the 15th. ulto.

During my stay at Halifax One Company of Rangers embark'd in two Schooners, and are sent to re-inforce the Troops with Adml. Durell under Convoy of Capt. Douglas, of the Alcide, who with the Sterling Castle parted Company with me the 14th. in Order to join him in the River St. Lawrence: As Mr. Durell had no small vessel with him, and none being arrived from the Continent, I thought it absolutely necessary to take into the Service an Armed Schooner at Halifax, which seemed very proper for the purpose, and I have sent her to him also under the Alcide's Convoy; & I have also found it needfull to take up a small Sloop at Louisburg, where, on my arrival, I found his Majs. Ship Northumberland (who came in the Day before I did) and the Bedford, and Prince Frederick, the two latter, in a very bad Condition, both as to Men and Stores, but they sailed with me from Louisburg the fourth instant, in Company with his Majesty's Ships named in the Margin and 119 Sail in Convoy, vizt.

Neptune		(Transports 34
Dublin	English	Transports 34 Ordnance Vessels 7
Bedford		Victuallers 4
Northumberland		Ordnance Vessels 6
Orford	American	Transports, including 68 Sloops & Schooners — 119
Royl. William		(Sloops & Schooners ) — 119
Shrewsbury		
Medway	Of the Rema	inder of the English Transports
Prce. Frederick	seven are Missing	g, there being yet no Account of
Diana	their Arrival in A	merica; several of them are gone
Trent	to Boston, for 300	pioneers, Whale Boats and other
Hind	necessary Stores.	and several of them remain at

Lowestoffe

Hunter Slb

Cormorant Vesuvius

Strombolo Pelican

Racehorse

Raltimore

Rodney Cutter

Europa

Of the Remainder of the English Transports seven are Missing, there being yet no Account of their Arrival in America; several of them are gone to Boston, for 300 pioneers, Whale Boats and other necessary Stores. and several of them remain at New York to repair the Damage they received in their passage; His Majs. Ships Scarborough & Seahorse are with them under Orders to join me with all possible Dispatch; The Transports now with me have all the Artillery and Troops on board them designed for the River St. Lawrence, except one Company of Rangers from the Bay of Fundy, and forty of Braggs Regiment that are on the Island St. John, who are all expected hourly from thence.

I have yet heard nothing of the Zephyr Sloop, (stationed at North Carolina) nor of the Eurus, that went to Greeenock for Highlanders for Virginia, nor of the Scorpion Sloop, since she parted company in my passage out, with the Wine Vessels for Teneriffe; Neither have the Terrible or Somerset yet joined me from Halifax, but I have expected them Daily for some time past; And by the Information of an English Transport, that sailed from Lisbon with the Trident, and arrived at Louisburg some Days since, I am in hopes, that Ship also, will join me very soon, I have left Orders at Louisburg for them all to follow me up the River with the utmost Dispatch.—

On the 17th. Ulto. the first of the Troops and Provincials arrived at Louisburg from New York, under convoy of the Lizard & Trent; Those from Boston, the Bay of Fundy, and Halifax, were off the Harbor a few Days after them; but by the vast Quantity of Ice surrounding the harbor, with constant thick Fogs, they were prevented getting in (the greatest part of them) for ten Days at least; on the 27th. the Harbor was so intirely filled up with Ice, that for several Days, it was not practicable for Boats to pass: This Severity of the Winter, has greatly retarded our Sailing from Louisburg, and has by much, exceeded any that can be remembered by the Oldest Inhabitants of this part of the World.

I have stationed the Lizard at the Entrance of the River St. Lawrence, between the N. W. end of the Isle of Anticosti, and the Southern Shore, and shall, as soon as I am able, station another Frigate between Anticosti, and the Northern Shore; I likewise sent the Nightingale to cruize between Cape North & Cape Ray, and the Bir'd Islands; She returned, very leaky, as I was getting under Sail, having met with great Quantities of Ice, but spoke with nothing in her Cruize; I have left her at Louisburg, with orders to be ready to Sail at a Moments Warning, & I intend to Order her to England with these Dispatches, which I shall send in to her by an Armed Vessel.

Governor Pownall has supplied the Fleet with 240 men from Boston, which has been of great Service to the Ships, that were weakly handed, but, by his Contract with them, they must all be left behind in America—

There are still at Louisburg, a Number of French prisoners & Inhabitants, that have been maintained at great Expence, and taken up much Room in the Hospitals, that has been wanted for our own People; I have

therefore ordered one of the Victuallers which I have discharged of her Provisions to take in such of them as Governor Whitmore shall appoint, and carry them to France, taking from thence such English prisoners, as he shall be able to obtain—

The Alcide, in her passage to the Gulph of St. Lawrence has taken a French Ship of 280 Tons, from Rochelle, laden chiefly with Military Stores, and Clothing, for the French Troops in Canada; I have not the least Information from her, or from any other Quarter, of the Ships or Motions of the Enemy.

I am now off the Island off Scatari, and standing for the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the whole number of Transports not having been able to get out to me 'till this Morning.

I inclose for their Lordships' Information the State and Condition of his Majesty's Ships here, and am

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

CHAS. SAUNDERS

Neptune off 'Scatari 6th. of June 1759.

P. S. Since I signed the above, Capt. Carpenter of the Baltimore informs me he has spoke with one of Capt. Smith's Convoy (the Seahorse) from New York, who parted Company with the rest 25 Leags. to the Westward of Louisburg; so I am in hopes they will join me to morrow.

# Letters of Saunders

Sep. 5, 1759.

Sir,

In my Letter of the 6th. of June I acquainted you for their Lordship's Information, that I was then off Scatari standing for the River St. Lawrence; On the 26th. I had got up with the First Division of the Fleet

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and Transports, as far as the middle of the Isle of Orleans, where I immediately prepar'd to land the Troops, which I did the next Morning; The same Day the second & third Divisions, came up, and the Troops from them were landed likewise.

I got thus far, without any Loss or Accident whatever, but directly after landing the Troops, a very hard Gale of Wind came on, by which many Anchors & small Boats were lost, and much Damage was receiv'd among the Transports, by their driving on board each other; The Ships that lost most Anchors I supplied from the Men of War, as far as I was able; and, in all other Respects, gave them the best Assistance in my power—

On the 28th, at Midnight the Enemy sent down from Quebec, seven Fire Ships, & tho' our Ships & Transports were so numerous & necessarily spread so great a part of the Channel, we towed them all clear and a ground, without receiving the least Damage from them:—The next Night General Monckton crossed the River, and landed with his Brigade on the South Shore, and took post at Point Levi, and General Wolfe took his on the Westermost point of the Isle of Orleans.—

On the 1st. of July I moved up between the Points of Orleans & Levi, and it being resolved to land on the North Shore, I placed, on the 8th. instant, his Majesty's Sloop Porcupine, & the Boscawen armed Vessel in the Channel, between Orleans & the North Shore, to cover that Landing, which took place that Night.

On the 17th. I ordered Capt. Rous of the Sutherland to proceed with the first fair Wind and Night Tide, above the Town of Quebec, & to take with him his Majesty's Ships Diana & Squirrel, with two armed Sloops two Catts armed & loaded with provisions; these Ships (except the Diana) got up the 18th. at night, and gave General Wolfe an Opportunity of reconnoitring above the Town, having carried with them some Troops for that purpose. The Diana run ashore up the Rocks off point Levi, & received so much Damage that I have sent her to Boston with 27 Sail of American Transports (those which received most Damage in the Gale of the 27th. of June) where they are to be discharged; and the Diana having repair'd her Damages is to proceed to England, taking with her the Most Ships, and what Trade may be ready to accompany her.

On the 28th, at Midnight, the Enemy sent down a Raft of Fire-Stages of near 100 Radeaux, which succeeded no better than the Fire Ships.

On the 31st. Genl. Wolfe determined to land a Number of Troops above the Falls of Montmorenci, in Order to attack the Enemies Lines, to cover which, I placed the Centurion in the Channel between the Isle of Orleans & the Falls, and ran on Shore, at high Water, two Catts which I had armed for that purpose against two small Batteries & two Redoubts where our Troops were to land. About six in the Evening they landed, but the General not thinking it proper to persevere in the Attack, soon after, a part of them re-embarked, & the rest crossed the Falls with General Wolfe; upon which, to prevent the Two Catts from falling into the Enemies hands (they being then dry on Shore) I gave Orders to take the Men out & set them on Fire, which was accordingly done.—

On the 5th. of August, in the Night, I sent 20 flat bottomed Boats up the River to the Sutherland, to embark twelve hundred & Sixty of the Troops from a post we had taken on the South Shore, with Brigr. General Murray; I sent Admiral Holmes up to the Sutherland, to act in Concert with him, and give him all the Assistance the Ships & Boats could afford: At the same time I directed Admiral Holmes to use his best Endeavours to get at & destroy the Enemies Ships above the Town; and to that purpose I ordered the Lowestoffe & Hunter Sloop with two armed Sloops and two Catts with provisions, to pass Quebec and join the Sutherland; but the Wind holding Westerly it was the 27th of August before they got up, which was the fourth Attempt they had made to gain their passage.

On the 25th. at Night, Admiral Holmes & General Murray, with part of the Troops returned; they had met with & destroyed a Magazine of the Enemy's Cloathing, some Gun powder, and other things, & Admiral Holmes had been ten or twelve Leagues above the Town, but found it impracticable at that time, to get farther up.

General Wolfe having resolved to quit the Camp at Montmorenci, & go above the Town, in hopes of getting between the Enemy & their provisions (supposed to be in the Ships there) and by that Means force them to an Action; I sent up, on the 29th, at Night the Seahorse, and

two armed Sloops, with two Catts laden with provision, to join the rest above Quebec; And having taken off all the Artillery from the Camp at Montmorenci, on the 3d. instant, in the Forenoon, the Troops embarked from thence, & landed at Point Levi, The 4th. at Night, I sent all the flat bottomed Boats up, & this Night a part of the Troops will march up the South Shore above the Town to be embarked in the Ships & Vessels there, and to morrow Night the Rest will follow; Admiral Holmes is also gone up again to assist in their future Operations, and to try, if, with the Assistance of the Troops, it is practicable to get at the Enemy's Ships.

The French Troops appear Numerous, & seem to be strongly posted, but let the Event be what it will, We shall remain here, as long as the Season of the Year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching Troops from hence against General Amherst; and I shall have Cruizers at the mouth of the River, to cut off any Supplies that may be sent them, with strict Orders to keep that Station as long as possible: The Town of Quebec is not habitable, being almost intirely burnt & destroyed.

Twenty of the Victuallers that sailed from England with the Echo are arrived here; One unloaded at Louisburgh having received Damage in her passage out, and another I have heard nothing of: No Ships of the Enemy have come this Way that I have had any Intelligence of, since my Arrival in the River; except one, laden with flour and Brandy, which was taken by Captain Doake of the Lizard.

Before Admiral Durell got into the River, three Frigates, and seventeen Sail with Provisions, Stores & a few Recruits got up, and are those we are so anxious, if possible, to destroy.

I should have wrote sooner from hence but while my Despatches were preparing, General Wolfe was taken very ill, he has been better since, but is still greatly out of Order.

I send this to England by the Rodney Cutter, but Captain Douglas, her Commander being well acquainted with the French Language, & particularly their Sea-terms, being on that Account very useful to me with the French Pilots here, I could not well spare him, and have therefore given Mr. Perceval (one of my Lieutenants) a Commission to command her, which I hope there Lordships will approve.

I shall very soon send home the great Ships, in the Mean time I inclose You the State & Condition of his Majesty's Ships here, and am

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

CHAS. SAUNDERS

Endorsed: Recd. by Lieut. Percival the 14th. Octor. 1759-

Sterling Castle off point Levi 5 Septemr. 1759

# Disposition of the Ships under the Command of Vice Adml. Saunders in North America, 5 Septemr. 1759

	, 0 1 , 0 ,
Sutherland	
Squirrel	
Lowestoffe	In the River, above Quebec—
Sea horse	
Hunter Sloop	1
Sterling Castle	
Dublin	
Shrewsbury	
Alcïde	
Vanguard	
Centurion	
Captain	
Medway	Off Point Levi
Pembrooke	
Trident	
Richmond	
Scorpion	
Racehorse	
Pelican	
Vesuvius	
Eurus	At the Isle of Camarasq
Zephyr	In the Channel to the Southward of Jele on Condra
Baltimore	In the Channel to the Southward of Isle au Coudre

Porcupine

Between Isle Orleans & the North Shore

pr.Frederick

At Isle au Coudre

Bedford

Hind

At the Isle of Bic

Diana

Gone to Boston to convoy the Mast Ships

Lizard

Cruising between the West End of Anticosti & the South Shore

Trent

To reconnoitre the No. Shore of the River proceed along the Coast of America to South Carolina, & from thence to convoy their Trade to England.

Scarborough.

To search the No. Shore, as far as Mingan then to Gaspée Bay, & return.

Echo

To search the No. Shore, down the River & thro the Streights of Bel-Isle, to the port of Labrador, & return.

prs. Amelia

Northumberland

Terrible

Devonshire

Orford

Royal William

Somerset

pr. of Orange

Neptune

Cormorant

Strombolo

At Isle Madame

Admiral Durell is directed to station two of these Ships, between Cape Torment & the East End of Orleans

CHAS. SAUNDERS.

# Saunders to — ? Admiralty

Sir,

Sept. 21, 1759

I have the greatest pleasure in acquainting you, for their Lordsps. Information, that the Town & Citadel of Quebec surrender'd on the 18th. instant; The Army took possession of the Gates on the Land Side the same Evening and sent Safeguards into the Town to preserve Order and to prevent any thing being destroy'd, and Capt. Pallisser, with a Body of Seamen landed in the Lower Town & did the same: The next Day our Army marched in & near 1000 french officers, Soldiers & Seamen were embarked on board four English Catts, who shall soon proceed with them to France agreable to the Capitulation.

I have omitted, in my last Letter, to acquaint their Lordships with the Death of Captain Simcoe, which hapned on his passage from Halifax to the River St. Lawrence; & that I had appointed Capt. Wheelock of the Squirrel to succeed him, Capt. Cleland of the Scorpion to be Captain of the Squirrel, & my first Lieutt. to succeed him as Captain of the Scorpion.

I have their Lordships Orders of the 9th. May 1759 (sent me by Captain Edwards of the Gosport) for sending a Ship to Newfoundland to sail about the 20th. of Octobr. or soon afterwards, and I have appointed the Bedford for that Service, & given Captn. Fowke his Orders accordingly.

I wrote to you on the 5th. instant, & inclose You a Duplicate thereof; The Troops mentioned in that Letter embarked on board the Ships and Vessels above the Town in the Night of the 6th.; and at 4 in the Morning of the 13th. began to land on the North Shore, about a Mile & a half above the Town. General Montcalm with his whole Army left their Camps at Beauport, and marched to meet him; A little before Ten both Armies were formed and the Enemy began the Attack; Our Troops received their Fire and reserved their own, advancing till they were so near as to run in upon them & push them with their Bayonets by which, in a very little time, the French gave way, and fled to the Town in the utmost Disorder, and with great Loss, for our Troops pursued them quite to the Town, and killed many of them upon the Glacie & in the Ditch

and if the Town had been farther off, the whole French Army must have been destroyed—about 250 prisoners were taken that Day among whom, are ten Captains & Six Subaltern officers, all of whom will go in the great Ship to England.

I am sorry to acquaint you that General Wolfe was killed in the action, & General Monckton shot thro' the Body, but he is now supposed to be out of Danger; I am beginning to send on shore the Stores they will want, and provisions for 5000 Men, of which I can furnish them with a sufficient Quantity.

The Night of their Landing, Admiral Holmes with the Ships & Troops was about three Leagues above the intended Landing place; General Wolfe, with about half his Troops set off in the Boats & dropped down with the Tide, and were, by that means, less liable to be discovered, by the Centinels posted all along the Coast. The Ships followed them about ¾ of an hour afterwards & got to the Landing place just at the time that had been concerted to cover their Landing; and, considering the Darkness of the Night & the Rapidity, of the Current, this was a very critical operation, and very properly & successfully conducted: When General Wolfe, & the Troops with him had landed, the Difficulty of gaining the Top of the Hill is scarce credible, it was very steep in its Ascent, & high, had no path where two could go abreast, but they were obliged to pull themselves up by the Stumps and boughs of Trees that cover'd the Declivity—

Immediately after the Victory of our Troops, I sent up all the Boats in the Fleet, with Artillery and Ammunition, & on 17th. went up with the Men of War, in a Disposition to attack the lower Town, as soon as General Townsend was ready to do so by the upper, but in the Evening they sent out to the Camp & offerd Terms of Capitulation.—

I have the pleasure also of acquainting their Lordships that during this tedious Campaign, there has continued a perfect good understanding between the Army & Navy: I have received great assistance from Admirals Durell & Holmes, & from all the Captains; Indeed every body has exerted themselves in the Execution of their Duty; Even the Transports have willingly assisted me with Boats & people on landing the Troops and many other Services.

I send this by Capt. Douglas, whom I send home in his Majesty's Ship Lowestoffe: Admiral Durell will sail for England with the great Ships in two or three Days and I shall, myself follow, as soon as possible leaving at Haiifax, Lord Colvill in the Northumberland with four more Ships of the Line, & two or three Frigates, with Orders to come up here as early in the Spring as possible.

I propose to appoint a Captain to the Northumberland under Lord Colvill & to direct his Lordship to hoist a broad pendant.

I enclose you the State & Condition of the Ships here, & I am

Sir

Your most Obedt, hble Servt

CHAS. SAUNDERS

Sterling Castle off Quebec, 21 Septr. 1759.

## Amherst to Whitmore.

Enclosure 39 in Amherst's to Pitt of the 29 March 1759.

New York 16th March 1759,

Dear Sir,

On the 14th Instant I received His Majesty's Orders for making a detachment of the Troops in North America, to make an Attack on Quebec, up the River St. Lawrence, and that the Expedition is to be Commanded by Brigr. General Wolfe, who is appointed to Act as Major General during this Service.

I Have already taken all the Measures I can to forward this Service, and I am to Acquaint You, that His Majesty has been pleased to order, that Bragg's Regiment with the three Companys of Grenadiers of Whitmore's Hopson's, and Warburton's, which are under Your immediate Command at Cape Breton, should be allotted for the Army under Brigr. Wolfe's Command, and that I should send One thousand Provincials to

Louisbourg to remain in Garrison there, in order to provide for the Security of that most important Place, during the absence of the said Regiment and Companys, and though I have no particular Directions as to Rogers's Company of Rangers, I find by a Letter I have received from Brigr Wolfe, that he expects that Company should be included in the Troops destined for the Expedition, which I hope may be spared without any risque, as You may use part of the Provincials in the same manner as the Ranging Company, and that I imagine the Enemy will be so employed in different Quarters as not to have it in their power to attempt any thing against Cape Breton, or its Dependences.

His Majesty having been pleased to direct, that the Troops ordered for the above Expedition, should be assembled as near as may be on or about the 20th of April, I am hastening everything to the utmost of my power, that they may be there according to the King's Intentions.....

Light French Arms to Compleat the number of Light Infantry of the Regiments, must be supplyed from Your Stores, as the Regiments had only Light Arms delivered for the number of Light Infantry of each Corps that Served the last Campaign.

Brigr. Genl. Monckton, who arrived here the 12th. Instant, will return directly to Joyn the Troops at Louisbourg.

## Amherst to Whitmore

Enclosure 40 in Amherst's to Pitt of 29 March, 1759.

New York March 23. 1759

" Dear Sir

I make no Doubt but my Letter of the 16th. Inst. or the Duplicate must have arrived to you, before this can reach you; I omitted in those to mention to you, what is not particularly order'd to me, but what I understand Brigr. Gen. Wolfe expects, which is that Lieut. Col. Murray of Warburton's shou'd command the three Companies of Grenadiers that

are to be detached from the Regiments which remain at Louisbourg, for the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, which I beg you will be so good to Order.

I have Order'd that all the Medicine chests of the Regiments shou'd be supply'd with every thing necessary for the Campaign "

#### Amherst to Whitmore

Enclosure 17 in Amherst's to Pitt of 16 April, 1759—

"I am not certain whether I mention'd that Major Dobson should serve as Major of Brigade on the Expedition, as I presume you can spare him from your Garrison, and that I send but one Major of Brigade from hence, I think it will be for the good of the Service that he is appointed to Serve under Brigr. Genl. Wolfe as Major of Brigade during the Expedition."

# Extract Amherst to Brig. Genl. Lawrence

(Enclosure No. 20 in Amherst's to Pitt of April 16. 1759)

"If you can contrive to Relieve the officer and Men of the Artillery, who are at present at St. John's, by a Detachment from your Garrison of Hallifax, and send those of St. John's, to Join the Army here, you will Reinforce a Corps that is much too small for the Service that I have in my Imagination Allotted to them for this Campaign."

#### Extract Amherst to Col. Williamson

(Enclosure No. 24 in Amhersts of 16 April, 1759)

"From the Experience and Conviction I have of your good Endeavours for forwarding every Thing that tends to the good of His Majesty's

Service, I do most readily comply with your Request, and you will please to order Capt. Godwin to Act as Major on the Expedition against Quebec, or so long as His Majesty's Service in these parts may Require it."

# Enclosure 38 in Amherst's to Pitt of March 29, 1759

Troops ordered for the Expedition against Quebec to Rendez-vous at Louisbourg, and to be under the Command of Major Genl, Wolfe.

#### Members as supposed in England.

Battalions <	Amherst's Otway's Kennedy's Lawrence's Monekton's Anstruthers	1145 815 1145
Rangers	Goreham's Danks's McCurdy's Brewer's Stark's  Goreham's 600	

Monckton's and Lawrence's Battalions are to detach each two hundred and fifty Men to be joined by Fifteen hundred Provincials for the Protection of Hallifax, Nova Scotia, and the Bay of Fundy.

New York March 16th. 1759

JEFF. AMHERST.

To Brigr. Genl. LAWRENCE.

Other Corps Ordered for the Expedition.

Lascelles's	1145
Webb's	
Fraser's	
Bragg's	815
Royal Artillery	300
	2,005

To which is to be added the three Grenadier Campanies of Whitmore's, Hopson's and Warburton's and Roger's, Company of Rangers, the Grenadier Campanies being 300 are included in the total of 12005.

Extract from letter dated Halifax 8th. May, 1759

#### Lawrence to Pitt.

"I was particularly happy, in the satisfaction Major General Wolfe express'd on his arrival, in the preparations made here for the Expedition under his Command."

# Amherst to Wolfe

Louisbourg 15th, August 1758

"P. S. As you tell me that by your letter of Service, when you left England, you think yourself Authorized to return to England as soon as the Siege of Louisbourg is over you will leave the above orders with the Eldest Officer, whenever you think proper to go after your return from the River St. Lawrence.

J. A."

De Par Son Excellence Robert Monckton Ecuyer, Colonel D'Infanterie, Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Nouvelle Ecosse, et de la Garnison D'Annapolis Royale, Brigadier General, et Commandant en Chef des Troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique dans la Riviere de St. Laurent—

Nonobstant L'Opiniatreté des Canadiens, a Refuser les Propositions Equitables, qui leur ont été faites de la Part de Sa Majesté Britannique par Monsieur Le General Wolfe; Quoique ils ayent continué non Seulement de porter les Armes, mais meme de faire la Guerre d'une Façon Barbare et Cruelle, Cause tres Juste de leur Chatiement et Defaite : A cette heure, qu'ils n'ont rien de plus a esperer, et qu'ils sont dans notre pouvoir, Desirant leur montrer (malgré leur conduite imprudente) Toute Sorte de Compassion, et une Attention tendre et Charitable pour Eux et leur Familles, Je Declare, et Fait Scavoir a tous par ces presentes, "Que "les Canadiens peuvent s'en retourner dans leur Paroisses, prendre "possession de leur propres Terres, Habitations et Effets, faire leur "Récoltes, Jouir de leur Religion, sans Recevoir le moindre Empeche-"ment de la part des Anglois, qui ne sont pas venus pour ruiner et "detruire les Canadiens, mais pour leur faire Gouter les Douceurs d'un "Gouvernement Juste, et Equitable, Pourvu qu'Eux de leur part, rendent "les Armes, prennent le Serment de Fidelité, et demeurent chez eux en "Repos".

Fait a Quebec ce 22eme Sepbre. 1759, et Scellé du Sceau de nos Armes—

Endorsed: Manifesto

in B. G. Monekton's of Octr. 8th. 1759.

An Account of the Guns, Mortars, Ammunition, Small Arms &c. found in the City of Quebec upon its surrender to His Majesty's

Troops the 18th. September 1759.

	(6 Pounders	1
Brass Ordnance	<b>}</b> 4	3
	(2	2
	/ 36 Pounders	10
	24	45
	18	18
	12	13
Iron Ordnance	⟨ 8	43
	6	66
	4	30
	3	7
	2	3
Brass Mortars	13 Inch	I
Brass Howitzers	8 Inch	3
	(13	9
Iron Mortars	10	1
from Mortars	8	3
	7	2
	( 13	770
Shells	10	150
phens	<b>)</b> 8	90
	6	90
Brass Petards		2

With a considerable Quantity of Powder, Ball, Small Arms, Intrenching-Tools &c. the number of which cannot at present be ascertained

JOHN GODWIN

Major Rl. Artillery

endorsed: In B. G. Monckton's of Octr. 8th. 1759

ı te	OFFICE COMMISSION	ERS PRESENT.  STAFF  Non Commission		WANTING TO COMPLEAT	SINCE LAST RETURN	the .
No. of the Regiments	Colonels Lieut. Colonels Majors Captains Lieutenants Ensigns	Chaplains Adjutants Or. Masters Surgeons Mates Serjeants	Fitt for duty Sick present Sick in Hospitals Absent sick & on duty Recruiting On Furlow	Serjeants Drummers Rank & File Recruited	Dead Discharged Discharged Wounded Prisoners or missir Serjeants Drummers Rank & file	Invalids recommend Chelsea & kept on 1 Regiments pay.
Sth. Major Genl. Amherst's Lieut. Genl. Bragg's Lieut. Genl. Otway's Major Genl. Kennedy's Lieut. Genl. Lascelles's Colonel Webb's Colonel Anstruther's Brigr. Genl. Monckton's Brigr. Genl. Lawrence's Colonel Fraser's Louisbourg Grenadiers Company's of Rangers	T	I I I I I I 35 16 I I I I I I 35 20 I I I I I 30 20 I I I I I 30 20 I I I I I 40 20 I I I I I I 2 37 20 I I I I I 2 37 20 I I I I I I 29 18 I I I I 33 16 I I I I 2 33 16 I I I I 2 56 28 I I I I 2 56 12 6	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	143	7      4     42      1       1     4      1     6     44        14      1     3     13        1      2     5     27      1     2        2      4     11      1     2      1     2      1     091      3     1     7        8      1      27     137      4     2     13        8     1      27     137      4     2     13        7      6     44     4     4     2     13	4
Total	2 8 8 79 179 89	5 9 9 10 14 400 202	2 5432 705 952 1078 20 8187	7 2448	6 65 48 11 82 546 8 4 23	56

# MONTHLY RETURN OF THE ROYAL TRAIN OF ARTILLERY.

Colo. George Williamson	Colonel	Major	Captains	Capt. Lieutenants	1st. Lieutenants	2nd, Lieutenants	Lieut. Fireworkers	Adjutant	Qr. Master	Surgeon	Serjeants	Corporals	Bombrs.	Gunners	Matrosses	Miners	Drumrs.	Total	
Effectives Present	I	1	2	3	3	3	9	ı	ı	I	9	9	23	50	150		9	275	
Sick Present								,				I	2	6	33			42	
	I	1	2	3	3	3	9	1	I	1	9	10	25	56	183		9	317	

#### OFFICERS ABSENT

# N. B. I Gunner Kill'd, I Gunner I Bombardier & 6 Matrosses Wounded.

	OFFICERS AI	BSENI			IV. B. I Gunner Kill'a, I Gunner I Bomoaraier & C	O Watrosses Woundea.			
REGIMENTS	OFFICERS NAMES	Since what time abst.	BY WHOSE LEAVE	for what time.	NAMES OF VACANT OFFICERS & BY WHAT MEANS	GENERAL STAFF OFFICERS			
Major Genl. Amhersts { Lieut. Genl. Braggs { Lieut. Genl. Otway's {	Major Genl. Amherst Capt. Prescott Lt. Paske, 1 Serjt. & 1 Drumr. Lieut. Genl. Bragg Capt. Littler Lieut. Genl. Otway Capt. Ormsby		His Majesty's		Lieut. William Cooper Kill'd Sep. 13. 1759 Lieut. William Mason Kill'd Sep. 13. 1759	Major Genl. Wolfe Killed Septr. 13th. 1750 Colonel Monckton Colonel Townshend Colonel Murray Colonel Carleton Qr. Master Genl. Major Barré Adjutant Genl.			
Major Genl. Kennedy's	Capt. Ormsby Ensn. Armstrong Revd. Mr. Whitty Chaplain Major Genl. Kennedy. Mr. Waite Surgeons mate. Revd. Mr. Bourne Chaplain. Lieut. Genl. Lascelles	16. Decr. 1758	Commander in Chief His Majesty's Brigr. Genl. Lawrences Officiating by Deputy		Lieut. Seymour Kill'd the 13th. Inst.	Capt, Maitland Capt, Gwilliam Capt, Spital Lieut, Dobson Capt, Smyth Capt, Bell  Aids de Camp			
Lieut. Genl. Lascelles	Lieut. Colo. Hale Captu. D'Arcy Lieut. West. Revd. Mr. Bruce Chaplain.		His Majesty's Brigr. Genl. Monckton's Aid de Camp to Genl. Amherst Brigr. Genl. Monckton's Never Joyn'd		Ensn. Tottenham Kill'd the 13th. Inst.	Capt. Leslie Capt. Leslie Capt. Caldwell  Assistants to the Quarter Master General  ENGINEERS			
Colonel Webbs,	Major Ross		Quarter Master Genl, in Germany Brigadier Genl, Monckton Commander in Chief		Ensn. Henry Peyton Appointed Lieut, in the Room of Lieut. De Witt, died of his wounds Septr.	Major McKellar Chief Engineer			
Colonel Anstruthers {	Colonel Anstruther Capt. Graydon Ensn. Wemys Lt. Colo. St. John St. Clair		His Majesty's Genl. Wolfes		Mr. Coxiller appointed Ensn. in the room of Ensn. Peyton Mr. Edward Barron appointed Ensn. in the Room of Ensn. Johnson deceased Sept. 2d.	Capt. Green } Enginers in ordinary Capt. Lieut. Williamson Engineer Extraordinary Lieut. Montresor Sub. Engineer			
Brigr. Genl. Monckton's {	Major James Robertson Capt. Bradstreet. Capt. Bosomworth. Lieut. Abbercrombie. Mr. Dumer Surgeon's mate Revd. Mr. Gawton Chapln. N. B. 2 Capts. 2 Lieuts. 2 Ensus 6 Serite.	24. March 1758	Deputy Qr. Mr. Genl. on the Continent		Capt. Ross Lieut. Roderick McNeil	Capt. Holland Lieut. Benzell Lieut. Goddard Lieut. Peach Lieut. des Barres Ensn. Bastide Ensn. Mills			
Brigr. Genl. Lawrences	Brigr. Genl. Lawrence Revd. Mr. Ogilvie Chaplain N. B. 2 Capts. 3 Lieuts, 2 Ensps. 6 Serits.		Governour of Nova Scotia on duty upon the Continent, 3 Drumrs, on Command at Hallifax		Lieut. Alexr. McDonnell ) Lieut. Jones Killed Septr. 13th. 1759 Lieut. Pinhorne died of his Wounds Septr. 29th.	Lieut Fuser  N. B. In the above Return 300 provincial pioneers from the province of Massachusetts Bay & a Company of Carpenters are not included.			
Colonel Frasers	Major Clephane		Left sick at New York Never joyn'd His Majesty's Left with the Sick at Louisbourg						
Louisbourg Grenadiers {	Lieut. Collingwood. Lieut. Nevin Capt. Lieut. Day		Brigr. Genl. Monckton's  Commander in Chief			Robt. MONCKTON  Brigr. Genl.			



# Return of French Iron Ordnance between the River St. Charles and Montmorenci.

NAMES OF THE BATTERIES	NATURE	No. of Guns
Passage. Royal. De la Rousule. St. Charles. Aux Pretre. De Paren. La Cheerie. Floating Battery. Beau Porte. la Attack  Maser de Blacke	6 Pounder 9 12 12 9 9 from 12 to 24	4 3 5 2 1 1
		39

Two 13 Inch Mortars, with 14 fix'd & 54 Empty Shells.

N. B. Four French six Pounders, and one English Brass three Pounder, sent to England and not included in the above Return.

John Godwin, Major Rl. Artillery.

Quebec 10th. October 1759.

endorsed: in B. G. Monckton's of Oct. 8. 1759.

# Mémoire pour servir d'instruction à M. de Boishebert chev. de St Louis Capitaine d'une compagnie des troupes du detachement de la Marine

M. de Boishebert est aussi exactement instruit que nous de la situation de la Riviere St. Jean, de Miramichis ainsi que des acadiens et sauvages qui habitent ou sont refugiés dans ces deux postes ou dans les environs, il a pris toutes les connaissances nécessaires à cet égard l'automne dernier et nous lui avons fait part des comptes qui nous ont été rendus par Mrs. de Boucherville et de Niverville.

Le dt. S. de Boishebert ne menera en partant de Quebec que le moins de monde qu'il pourra étant important en égard à la dizette où nous sommes des vivres de menager ceux que nous ferons passer au portage themiskouata.

Nous sommes dans la confiance que M. de Boucherville et les Missionnaires qui sont auprès des accadiens et des sauvages auront suivant nos intentions réuni les uns et les autres afin qu'ils puissent prendre tel parti que les circonstances pourront exiger.

Il sera de la prudence du dt. S. de Boishebert de prendre les arrangemens les plus solides pour faire passer par la voye la plus sure dans le cœur de cette colonie les accadiens et les sauvages mais il ne fera cette transmigration que relativement aux ordres que nous lui donnerons notre intention étant de n'évacuer cette partie que lorsque nous nous verrons dans une impossibilité absolue de la soutenir.

Il surveillera essenciellement à la sureté des accadiens et des sauvages et prendra les plus justes mesures pour éviter qu'aucun d'eux ne tombent entre les mains des anglais.

Quant aux sauvages de la Mission du R. P. Germain qui sont actuellement à Kamouraska il concertra avec ce Missionnaire, le parti qui sera le plus convenable à leur égard.

Nous sommes bien persuadés que Mrs. les Missionnaires qui sont auprès de ces accadiens et sauvages concourront chacun de leur mieux à l'exécution de nos intentions.

Le parti que M. de Boucherville a envoyé aux environs de Beauséjour

aura vraissemblablement en quelque succès, nous espérons aussi que M. de Niverville aura de son côté fait faire quelques prisonniers et que d'une façon ou de l'autre M. de Boishébert sera instruit de la situation et des vues de nos ennemis nous lui recommandons de faire son possible pour y penetrer non seulement pour ce qui concerne la partie de l'accadie mais même par raport à tous les autres projets qu'il pourroit avoir formés sur cette colonie, il aura une attention particuliere à nous en instruire

Nous sommes bien persuadé que M. de Boishébert saisira et recherchera même toutes les occasions pour nuire à nos ennemis, mettre obstacle à leurs projets et arrêter leurs progrès, mais nous ne pouvons lui prescrire rien de positif à cet égard, les mouvements qu'il pourroit faire etant subordonnés à la situation où se trouveront les accadiens et les sauvages et aux ressources qu'il pourra avoir pour les faire agir.

Il hatera dès la prime de la Navigation le depart des Batiments qui sont destinés à aller chercher des Morües à Gaspé ou à la grande Riviere il excitera d'ailleurs les accadiens et les sauvages à se procurer par leur industrie à la chasse et à la pêche des ressources pour vivre et pour suppléer aux secours que nous ne sommes point presentement en état de leur faire passer.

Nous nous proposons de faire part à M. de Boishebert des premieres nouvelles que nous aurons de la Cour mais dans le cas que les deux couronnes eussent fait leur paix nous le prevenons qu'il doit se tenir toujours en état de se maintenir dans les postes que nous occupons et même de rentrer dans la possession du terrein que les anglois pourroient abandonner, il en sent lui même toute la consequence.

Nous nous en raportons à M. de Boishebert pour tout ce qui concerne la destination de Mrs. de Beaubassin, de Villejoin et des autres officiers qui sont sous ses ordres, nous nous en raportons aussi à lui sur tous les cas aux quels nous ne pouvons prévoir connaissant son zèle et l'expérience qu'il s'est acquise dans la partie que nous lui avons confiée

Fait à Montréal le 5 mars 1759.

VAUDREUIL.

Endorsed: Marquis de Vaudreüil's Orders to Capt. Boisheberé

in B. G. Monckton's of Oct. 8th. 1759.

# Disposal of the Staff of the Army up the River St. Lawrence.

Brigadier General Monckton to New York

Brigadier General Townsend to England

Brigadier General Murray Remains at Quebec

Colonel Carlton Quarter Master General to England.

Major Barré to General Amherst

Captn. Leaslie Assistant Qr. Mr. General Remains at Quebec.

Captn. Caldwell Assistant Qr. Master General to England to join his Regiment

Captn. Bell Aid de Camp to late General Wolfe to England to join his Regiment

Captn. Smith Aid de Camp to late General Wolfe by Leave to England on his private Affairs

Brigade Majrs. Maitland & Dobson remain at Quebec.

Brigade Majr. Guilham prefer'd Returns to his Regt,

Brigade Majr. Spital badly Wounded to New York.

ROBT. MONCKTON

Brigr. Genl.

endorsed: in B. G. Monckton's of Oct. 8, 1759.

## Brigr. Genl. Monckton to Pitt.

River St. Laurence Quebec 8th October 1759.

Sir,

By Colonel Hale who sailed on the 22d. of September, in the Leostaffe Man of War, Brigadier Townshend wrote You of the Success

of His Majesty's Arms, up this River, and I had the Honour of writing You a few lines on the same subject—since which Sir we have been so continually emploied in repairing Quarters for the Troops, landing Provisions and Stores, and getting in Feuel, that it has not been in my power to carry on any further operations against the Enemy. They have been for some time past intrenched at a place called Jacques Cartier, about Thirteen Leagues up the River from hence, the Country to it is much cut with Woods, and it might have been attended with much difficulty for us to have acted against them there, beside Sir, the Season being so far advanced, and the many very necessary preparations we have to make against the severity of the Winter, would not allow of it.

Since the Surrender of the Town I have published a Manifesto allowing the Inhabitants to return to their Farms, and to get in their Harvest upon condition that they give in their Arms, and take the Oath of Fidelity, which most of the Inhabitants of this Town, and of the Villages about here, have already complied with. You have herewith Sir, a copy of the Manifesto, it is of much the same purport as the one General Wolfe published, at our first coming up the River.

By what Intelligence I can get (not having heard from Genl. Amherst a long time) the French are still fearfull of His advancing, as the bad Weather does not set in so soon with Him as it does here, and I am this day informed that a Party from His Army, have fallen upon, and destroyed a French and Indian Settlement called St. Francis in Lake St. Pierre,—as some of the Indians were not returned home from the French Army, they escaped.

There are yet, a number of French Ships up the River (two of them Frigates) at the Grondines, Batiscan, and above the Falls of Richelieu. The Deserters say they intend to try to push by, when most of the Men of War are gone.

The Admiral intends leaving only two Sloops of War here the Winter (and two Line of Battle Ships as long as the weather will permit them to stay) as He cannot find any place, where a two decked Ship can remain in Safety for the Winter,

You have inclosed a Return of the Army for the month of September and a State of the Garrison that is to remain the Winter & a return of

the Guns Mortars and Amunition, found in the Town and on the Beauport Shore as far as We have been able to come to an exact Account of them,—in regard to other King's Stores, it is impossible to send an Account of them, by this opportunity,—but as there are a good many Shoes and coarse Cloth, in the Public Stores, I have taken upon me, to direct Brigadier Murray to distribute to the Soldiers some of the Shoes and Cloth to make Waiscoats, to keep them warm in the Winter, as a Reward for the great Spirit, with which they went through the Campaign, and their Gallant Behaviour on the 13th of September—my doing this I Hope Sir will be approved of.

I have tried to make an Exchange with the Marquis de Vaudreuil for some officers of Ours, that He has in His Hands, but I find it impossible to have any Dealings with Him, as His Letters on that Head, are always filled with Untruths, and only tending to persuade me to keep their prisoners here, thinking that in the Winter We should be glad to get rid of them at any Rate—I shall therefore send them to England, as fast as their Wounds will admit of it (seven of them go now).

The inclosed Memoire and Letter, both signed by Mr. Vaudreuil will shew you Sir the Methods He purposes making use of, should there be a Peace, and what methode He has used to make the Canadiens take up Arms, these were found in some of the Villages, with other papers, by some of our parties.

The Louisbourg Grenadiers I have sent back, and only purpose keeping One Hundred of the Rangers, Colonel Williamson, with one Company of the Artillery, and the heavy Train is gone to Boston.

Would I listen to it, I am informed I might have proposals for a Cessation of Arms during the Winter (such is their distress) and that Colonel Bougainville, who came to me some days past, from the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Chevalier de Levis, about an Exchange of Prisoners, was charged with this Commission, but some Liberties He had taken, in going about too much having obliged me to restrain Him within a particular Limit, He went away offended, without mentioning it Himself—but the Commissary of War, with whom He lived, has since dropped some hints tending that way—I have given him to understand that nothing of the kind will be list'ned to, and that if the Marquis de Vaudreuil should send any Parties to exercise Cruelties, that We shall

retaliate them upon such of theirs as We have in Our hands, although it is what We would gladly avoid.

As the Surgeons are of opinion, that it will be absolutely necessary I should go to a more moderate climate, on Account of the Wound which I received on the 13th of September, and the Winters here being very severe, I purpose appointing Brigadier Murray to act as Governor and Colonel Burton (who is second in Command) as Lieutenant Governor untill His Majesty's pleasure be known, to which I have added the fellowing very necessary Staff.

A Town Major

2 Town Adjutants for the upper & lower Towns

A Secretary

A Paymaster of the Public Works

A Barrack Master

A Boat Master to take care of the flatt bottomed Boats and floating Batteries with some few others of inferior Rank, as assistants.

As General Wolfe had appointed a Provost Martial, and had delayed giving Him a Warrant only for the Want of a Form, he being a very necessary officer here I have given him a Warrant to act as such untill His Majesty's pleasure be known.

General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders having some time ago agreed to incorporate the men of Col. Strode's and Col. Colvill's Regiments (being about 230, serving as Marines under the Command of Maj. Hardy) into the Regiments here, I have complied with their Intentions, being for the Good of the Service, and I have ordered that the Agents of the several Regiments which received them, to give the usual Credit of £5 p man to the Agents of Col. Strode's and Col. Colvil's Regiments.

The French Commisary of War having represented to me, the miserable state the Grand Hospital (in which there are now upwards of 300 Sick & Wounded, 15 of which are French officers and about 80 Soldiers Prisoners of War 40 Religieuse and Servants attending the same) must be reduced to, without some assistance from us, and M. Vaudreuil having

acquainted me with His Inabillity to assist them, either with provisions or money, except paper money (which is now of no value) all which I believe really to be true, and Mr. Bigon the Intendant being to give me Bills on their Treasury, and on His own personal Credit, in case there should be any delay in the former, I have therefore (as the 26th Article of the Cartel obliges us to take care of and feed the wounded) advanced Him £600 which is more convenient to us, and more agreeable to them than to maintain them ourselves.

As the Staff of this Army will now be at an end I inclose You Sir, an Account of the different places they severally go to.

As it is necessary for me to give some Reasons for my leaving so strong a Garrison here, give me leave Sir to offer the following which are

First.—The great Extent of the Town, which in many places is liable to Insult renders a strong Garrison very requisite.

Secondly.—The heavy Snows which fall here, often filling up the Ditch, the Garrison, should it not constantly be kept clear, would be subject to surprises, therefore a strong Garrison is necessary.

Lastly Sir,—should any further operations be carried on here in the Spring the Troops will be at hand to act imediately—these Reasons will I hope be approved of.

Brigadier Genl. Townshend will deliver You a Draught of the Enemy's Intrenchments, from the River St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency and a Plan of the Field of Battle, (1) they were not finished in time to inclose with the other papers—

#### (1) See plan "From the original Surveys"

The Engineers have been so hurried in making the very necessary Repairs, about the Garrison, that they have not been able to make an exact Plan of the Fortifications as yet, but I am in hopes Sir that I shall be able to send it to you, by the Ships the Admiral leaves here for some days after Himself.

I had forgot to mention a Return of the Killed & Wounded from the commencement of the Campaign, which I inclose—

I purpose remaining here untill I can hear with some certainty whether General Amherst will be able to advance, or not, which, as the Season is now so far advanced I am very doubtfull of.—

As General Amherst's Intentions were that six months subsistence for the Troops and a proper sum for the Contingencies of the Army should have come up the River, yet no more than £19,700.00 could be procured for these purposes—and it being absolutely necessary that as much Cash should be kept here as possible, for the procuring Fresh Provisions and other things from the Inhabitants, for the Sick, and which will likewise prevent them from carrying such Refreshments to the French—The Admiral has been so good as to collect from the officers of the several Ships of War upwards of £3000 which, with His Advice, I have to repay it, drawn upon the Paymaster General in favour of Mr. Saunders for £3365—of which I shall give the Paymaster General Advice and I hope You will Sir (seeing the necessity I was under to take such a step) forward the payment of it.

The Admiral has sent a Sloop of War, by my desire, to New York for a supply of money, but as she had a long passage down the River. We cannot hope for her returning here this year, and I must beg leave to observe to you that the Troops are only paid up to the 24th of August last.

I should be highly deficient did I not mention the great assistance the Admiral has on all occasions given to us, throughout the Campaign, and in landing our Stores and Provisions for the Garrison.

I have the Honour to be with the Greatest Respect
Sir
Your most Obedient & Humble Servt.

ROBT. MONCKTON

The Rt. Honble. Willm. Pitt Esqr.

Endorsed: Novr. 30th by Coll. Townshend.

# Lt. James Grant to Colonel Bouquet.

Camp at Crown point Septr. 15th. 1759.

My dear Sir,

After throwing out every thing in my last that was subject of conversation in our army, I told you that a vague report prevailed of Mr. Wolfes having raised the seige of Quebeck and retired to the Isle of Orleans, But being now better informed as letters have come from General Wolfe's army since that rumour reached us, I could not avoid taking the first oportunity of removing the uneasiness that might be occasioned by such Disagreable accounts—The Fact is that Mr. Wolfe was before Quebeck the 30 of last month obstinatly Determined to make a Conquest & this we learn by a flag of truce & the account is confirmed by letters to Capt. Abercrombie & others (sic) & others from Monsieur Buckonville who is Adjutant General in Montcalm's Army—Some time ago the Day I forget General Wolfe ordered the Granadiers of the Army to march and attack two redoubts that Galled him they were covered by the regiments of Amherst & Frazer-Colonel Bourton led the Granadiers, the whole was commanded by Brigadier Townshend-The attack was impetuous, the French gave way & spiked their own Cannon-so the Generals end was acomplished But the Granadiers flushed wt. success pursued violently huzaing as they went along & nothing could stop them till they got among the French lines, General Townshend laboured to bring them back & was at last obliged to make the drums sound a retreat which had the effect, but not till they had been saluted by the French army with the heaviest fire imaginable all their officers were wounded almost. & about three hundred men & fifty killed, but the wounds are mostly slight the French fire coming from a rising ground—Townshend they say, behaved with great composure & covered them with the Batalions under his command in the retreat, where he sustained some loss notwithstanding they came off in good order—General Wolfe was a little Displeased with the violence & hurry of the troops and signified as much to them But still tho' it was not quite right, it must be allowed a rapid & brave attack is the most pardonable fault in a British Granadier & surely much more eligible in any army than the smallest imputation of bashfullness

The 48 Regt. & Frazers had a skirmish in the Woods with a large Detachment of the French Army under the Command of Colonel Buckonville while, Frazer was driving in three hundred Bulocks belonging to the Enemy; they formed & fought them & lost several Men but in the begining of the Fray a Capt. was detached with 100 men to carry the Bullocks into Camp which he accomplished under, cover of the two Regts. Frazer was wounded in the thigh in this affair, if you knew the Highlands of Scotland as well as Donald Campbell of your Regiment does, you would say it was not the first time a highlander had been overtaken Driving his neighbours Cattle—Colonel Walsh a few days before Drove in about 300 head of Sheep—these things must distress the Enemy & we are told. That Mr. Wolfe has laid the country waste 40 miles round They have frequently fallen in with the Indians & Drubbed them every time as our partys were strong & several out at a time. The Kachnavaga Indians have lost a number of their people.

The following is the latest list of killed & wounded in General Wolfe's Army:

#### Killed

#### Wounded

35 Regt.			15th. Regt.
Capt. Fletcher	}	both killled in	Capt. Loftus
Lt. Hamiltone	1	the woods	Lt. Lesslie
47			35th. Regt.
Lt. Matheson			Capt. Ins
Rangers			Lt. Field
Lt. Armstrong			Lt. Blakeney
			47th. Regt.
			Capt. Smell
			Lt. Elphinstone

#### Wounded

6oth. Regt.	48th. Regt.
Major Provost	Colonel Bourtone
Capt. Woosternoon	Lt. Webb
Capt. Achetelony prisoner & sup-	Lt. Hathorn
posed dead of his wounds	Lt. Pursival
Lt. Wilingtone	Capt. Edmonstone

#### Wounded

Lt. Shaw
Lt. Paton
Lt. Moncktone
78th. Regt.
Colonel Frazer
Capt. Mackpherson

Lt. Cameron

Lt. Charles McDonald

Lt. Hector McDonald

Louisburg Granadiers

40th. Regt.

Capt. Hamiltone

45th. Regt.

Lt. Colingwood

58th. Regt.
Capt. Leland
Rangers
Capt. C. Danks
Engeniers
Capt. Green
Capt. Williamson

#### MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS AND EXTRACTS

# Montcalm to de Molé (A translation)

From the Dartmouth papers

Quebec August 24 1759

Is here (Quebec) after standing a three month's bombardment from Wolfe, who can never succeed, so long as he attacks from the other bank. The campaign cannot last a month, on account of the terrible autumn winds, which are totally against the fleet. Quebec must be taken by a coup de main. "The English have nothing to do but make a Descent on the Bank where this City is situated without Fortifications or Defence. Mr. Wolfe (if he understands his Business) has nothing to do but bear the first Fire—advance fast upon my Army—stop at his Discharge—my Canadians without Discipline, at the sound of the Drum &c, will get into Disorder & fly-such is my deplorable Situation." He believes he will not survive the loss of the Colony, the only thing that remains is to die with honour. "But in this I console myself, that the loss of this Colony, this Defeat will one day be of more Service to my Country than a Victory; And that the Conqueror in aggrandizing himself will find a Tomb even in that. The English must breathe the Air of Freedom, and these Americans more so; And the children of these are not degenerated from the Republican Principles of their Parents. Their maxim is to obey as little as possible & when their Interests are touched they will revolt. Can England send one or two hundred thousand Men to oppose them at this distance? " The northern parts and sea might be kept in obedience by the shipping, but who would conquer the interior parts? "Besides, on a general Revolt, the Enemies to England in Europe will aid the Revolters." If the English conquer they will have the conquered become English, for getting differences of race, &c. Is clear that his ideas will be accomplished in less than ten years after the Conquest of Canada, but shall, as ordered, act for its preservation.

# Letter of Capt. Calcraft

Quebec, Sept. 20.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure of writing this in the capital of America, of which our troops took possession the 18th instant, at four o'clock after noon. This was the consequence of a complete victory obtained over the forces of France, consisting of about 3000 regulars, and not less than 7000 Canadians and Indians, the 13th inst. near the citadel of Quebec. Our forces did not amount to 5000. This little battle was one of the most glorious that ever was fought. Great pity that our brave general, Wolfe, did not survive it! He was killed in the beginning of the action: and Gen. Montcalm was so much wounded, that he died the same night. Our second in command, Gen. Monckton, was wounded, and the general that succeeded Montcalm was killed. It will perhaps be some satisfaction to you to give you some account of the steps that were taken previous to this famous engagement, which has determined the fate of Canada.

We had three camps; one on the east side of the fall of Montmorenci, one on the west point of the island of Orleans, and one on Point Levi. That on Montmorenci was the grand one, where Gens. Wolfe & Townshend commanded; that on Point Levi was the next most considerable and commanded by Genl. Monckton; and that on Orleans was commanded always by some colonel. On Point Levi was a very strong battery of cannon and mortars, which played night and day upon the city, and did considerable damage. The fleet was stationed as follows. Adms. Saunders and Holmes, with several ships of war and transports, between Point Levi and the west point of Orleans; Adm. Durell, with several men of war and transports, between the east point of Orleans and Isle Madame. Besides these, there were two or three ships at the isle of

Coudre, and one at the isle of Beke, and some others in other parts of the river; particularly the Sutherland has been for a considerable time several leagues up the river above Quebec, and was the first ship that past the batteries of the city; a thing that one would think impossible; but at last our frigates, and even transports, thought little of it, and several have gone up since, and very few hurt.

This was the situation of our army and navy the 2d. of this month, when our camp at Montmorenci broke up, having first destroyed all the country on that side as far down as Coudre, without being in the least molested by the French, except their throwing a few shells among the boats; which however did no damage; and they arrived all safe at Point Levi; from whence all the troops marched the 6th inst. leaving here about 700 men; but whether they intended to cross the river, and got above the town, or whether it was intended to open a communication with Genl. Amherst, remained a secret, till the public orders of the 12th, which were the last given out by our brave general, Wolfe, gave the troops to understand what they were going upon. I think they were excellent and will therefore give you a copy of them, as follows.

"On board the Sutherland, Wednesday, Sept. 12, 1759.

The enemy's forces are now divided, great scarcity of provisions in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians.

- "The second officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think that Gen. Amherst is advancing into the colony.
- "A vigorus blow struck by the army may determine the fate of Canada. Our troops below (at Point Levi and Orleans) are in readiness to join us; all the light artillery and tools are imbarked at Point Levi; and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it.
- "The first body that gets on shore are to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy. The officers must take care that the succeeding bodies do not by any mistake, fire upon them that go before them.
- "The battalions must form upon the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself.

- "When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing place, while the rest march on and endeavour to bring the French and Canadians to a battle.
- "The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers are capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with disorderly peasantry.
- "The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty."

Besides the above there were some others regarding the regulation of the boats, which are not material.

These orders being given out, the ships and boats were ordered up the river with the tide: upon which Montcalm ordered out a large body to attend their motions; but Wolfe, upon the turn of the tide, which happened late in the night, sailed down the river, and before day-light landed almost under the wall of Quebec, in a place where indeed nobody could expect it; in short, they had a hill almost perpendicular to climb up; which however the troops effected, and gained the upper ground; where they were entertained with continual popping-shots from parties of the French and Canadians, in order to keep our people in play till their forces from their several incampments between the fall of Montmorenci and Quebec could be brought to their assistance.

On the other hand, our people had the same occasion to keep them in play till our forces could be collected and formed on the top of the hill. This sort of fighting continued till after ten o'clock, when both armies were formed; and then the French advanced towards ours, in three columns, with a very good countenance, and looked as if they were determined to fight in reality. Ours were drawn up in two lines, and were ordered to keep up their fire, and receive that of the French: which was accordingly done; and then our people got so near them as to make them feel our bullets and bayonets almost at the same time. The fire continued very hot indeed for about ten minutes, when the French and Canadians turned tail. Then 450 highlanders were let loose upon them with their broad swords, and made terrible havock among the poor devils, as far as the walls of the city; which they would have entered with the runaways, had they not been called back. One of their captains

told me, that the French were in so great a confusion, and seized with so great a panic, that the gate might have been kept open by those handful of men, till the rest of the army could have come up, and so have taken possession of the city by storm; and that would have certainly been the case had Gen. Wolfe lived; but his death threw a damp upon the whole army. When every thing is considered, the surviving generals acted prudently; for if they maintained the ground they were upon, the devil could not keep then out of the city in the course of a few days; whereas if they had attempted to storm or take possession of the city that day, an accident might have deprived them of the advantages and glory they had already won.

There was no more then the first line of our army engaged; the second line stood still, there being no occasion for it. It was one of the most regular battles that ever was fought; there were no intrenchments, no rivers, no banks, nor woods, to give one army advantage over another. Montcalm indeed had greater experience in the art of war, than Wolfe; but Wolfe was more brave and intrepid than Montcalm.

As soon as the pursuit was over, the army set about casting up redoubts, and before night had finished about a dozen of them. That night our army lay upon their arms, expecting a visit from the French next morning; but they had enough of it, and therefore did not think proper to appear. The 14th, there was a flag of truce, for burying the dead. The 15th and 16th some hundred sailors were employed in drawing of cannon up a road that was made where the troops landed; a laborious employment, which the honest tars set about with the greatest alacrity. It was really diverting, to hear the midshipmen cry out, *Starboard Starboard*, *my brave boys*. The 17th the French hung out their flag, and on the 18th our troops took possession of the town.

The glory of this affair is due to the brave Wolfe; for after the 13th there was not one shot fired at the enemy. His body, I hear, is going to England in the Royal, in order, I suppose, to be interred in Westminster Abby.

There was killed and taken of the enemy, 1 lieutenant general, 2 brigadier generals, 2 colonels, killed: 2 majors taken, 18 captains killed, or taken, 50 odd Subalterns, ditto; all French regulars. In the whole

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there was at least 1800 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners in the battle.

The French that were found in the city were granted the same terms as ours had in Minorca.

The regiments of Lascelles, Kennedy's and Wolfe's grenadiers, did wonders; yet the highlanders, if any thing, exceeded them, When these took to their broad swords, my God! what a havock they made! They drove every thing before them, and walls could not resist their fury.—Those breechless brave fellows are an honour to their country.—I cannot do them justice in my description of them; but I have reason to believe that their bravery will meet with praise and approbation, the only reward (except half victuals and cloaths) that a highlander demands being prepossessed naturally with a kind of martial honour.

Quebec, Sep. 20.

JAMES CALCRAFT.

Ewan Cameron, a common highlander, as I am credibly informed, had killed no less than nine Frenchmen, among whom were two officers, when his sword-arm was carried off by a shot. He immediately snatched up a bayonet, and wounded several more; but an unlucky bullet penetrating his throat, levelled him with the ground. The highlanders seem particularly calculated for this country. Their patience, temperance, and hardiness, their bravery, their agility, nay, their very dress contributes to adapt them to the climate, and render them formidable to the enemy.

# From an officer in Lascelles's, Quebec, Sept. 20.

The loss of our regiment is as follows: Capt. Thomas Ross (of Culrosse) and Lieutt. Roderick Macneil (of Barra) and Alexander Macdonell (son to Barisdale) killed. Capt. S. Fraser (Inverallachy) and John Macdonald, (Lochgary); Lieuts. Macdonald (Keppoch) Archibald Campbell (brother to Glenlyon) Alexander Campbell, and Douglas; and Ens. MacKenzie Malcolm Fraser, and Gregorson, wounded, most of their wounds but slight. Col. Fraser, and Lieuts. Charles and Hector Mac-

donalds, and H. Cameron, who were formerly wounded, are almost recovered.

## The London Chronicle for 1788. Aug. 16—19

It is a circumstance not generally known, but believed by the army which served under General Wolfe, that his death-wound was not received by the common chance of war, but given by a deserter from his own regiment: The circumstances are thus related:—The General perceived one of the sergeants of his regiment strike a man under arms (an act against which he had given particular orders), and, knowing the man to be a good soldier, reprehended the aggressor with much warmth, and threatened to reduce him to the ranks. This so far incensed the sergeant that he took the first opportunity of deserting to the enemy, where he meditated the means of destroying the General, which he effected by being placed in the enemy's left wing, which was directly opposite to the right of the British line, where Wolfe commanded in person, and where he was marked out by the miscreant, who was provided with a rifle-piece, and unfortunately for this country, effected his purpose. After the defeat of the French Army, the deserters were all removed to Crown Point; which being afterwards suddenly invested and taken by the British Army, the whole of the garrison fell into the hands of the Captors; when the sergeant of whom we have been speaking was hanged for desertion, but before the execution of his sentence confessed the facts above recited.



Bibliography of the Siege of Quebec, by A. Doughty and J. E. Middleton, with a list of Plans of Quebec by R. Lee-Phillips of the Library of Congress, Washington.



#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

# THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

A most important event in the world of Letters during the past three decades has been the evolution of the Deductive or Documentary method of History study. In America, notable work in this department has been done by Prof. John Fisk, Bancroft Justin Winsor and Francis Parkman and it is to these famous men more than to any others that the Renaissance of Historical Study on this Continent is due. Coincident with this "revival of learning" the study of Bibliography has been popularized, and intelligent collectors of Americana are now more numerous than ever.

Still it must be admitted that although Canadians have to a large extent been at one with the students in the United States in this Historico-Bibliographical regeneration, there has been a tendency to consider the History of this country as a mere offshoot of American History rather than a separate Entity. Hence, the Bibliography of Canadian History and Literature is meagre and aside from the utilitarian catalogues of the Library of Parliament and the Legislative Library of the Province of Quebec, we have only the excellent *Essai de la Bibliographie* of Mr. Philéas

Gagnon, and Faribault's valuable, though limited list. There does not appear to have been any serious attempt made to gather bibliographical data concerning the history of Canada, except in the two works mentioned, and we believe that no bibliographical work has been published hitherto confined to a particular period of Canadian history. The authors of this modest effort are therefore pioneers in this branch of study, and on that account they claim indulgence for errors or omissions. Indeed this work consists largely of an arrangement of the books and documents in their possession or which have come under their immediate notice.

Mr Lee Phillips, of the Library of Congress at Washington, who has been engaged for some time past in the preparation of an extensive bibliographical work on Plans relating to the history of America, has very kindly placed at our disposal a valuable list of plans concerning Quebec, which is published, with additions, in the second part of this work.

To M. de Kerallain, the Viscount Galway, Prince Galitzne, Mr. Fitzroy Fenwick, Mr. Francis, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. McLennan, Mr. John Horn, Mr. Parkman, Colonel Townshend, Mr. Lane, The Librarian of Congress, and to Captain Wylley, the authors desire to tender their grateful acknowledgment for the assistance they have received from them.

Quebec, Aug. 1901.

		OFFICERS PRESENT.										— EFFECTIVES RANK AND FILE						WANTING										
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REGIMENTS	Colonel	Lieut, Colonel	Major	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Chaplain	Adjutant	Qr. Master	Surgeon	Mate	Serjeants	Drummers	Fitt for duty	Sick present	Sick gone to the continent	Scorbutics gone to the continent	Invalids gone to England	On Command	On Furlow	TOTAL	Serjeants	Drummers	Rank & File	recommended to Chelsea	Sick sent to the Continent	recommended to Chelsea	Sick sent to the Continent
Major Genl. Amherst's. Lieut. Genl. Bragg's Lieut. Genl. Otway's Major Genl. Kennedy's Lieut. Genl. Lascelles's. Colonel Webb's Colonel Anstruther's Brigr. Genl. Monckton's Brigr. Genl. Eawrence's Colonel Fraser's Capt. Hazzan's Company of Rangers.				3 5 7 8 3 7 4 4 5 7	16 9 15 10 15 19 9 12 14 24 2	8 9 8 8 8 8 8 8 6 7	I	1 1 1 1 1 1	I	I	I I 2 I I I 2 2 I I I 2 2 2	32 26 40 29 38 39 26 32 34 47 4	17 19 20 20 19 20 18 14 16 28	367 411 600 495 454 703 401 331 448 800 102	96 131 146 93 100 84 95 142 65 140 9	40 34 36 14 23 20 76 40 22 56 18	7 12 5 185	38 34 32	I 2	3 3 3 8 2	534 615 823 646 598 825 574 773 809 1295	9	I	217 84 442 215 156 267 231		4 1		ı
Total	т	6	6	54	145	84	4	9	7	10	14	347	191	5112	1102	379	209	178	626	20	7626	9	4	2234	3	11		3

#### RETURN OF THE DETACHMENT OF THE ROYAL TRAIN OF ARTILLERY.

	Colones	Major	Captains	Capt, Lieutenants	1st. Lieutenants	2nd. Lieutenants	Lieut. Fireworkers	Adjut.	Qr. Master	Surgeon	Serjeants	Corporals	Bombrs.	Gunners	Matrosses	Miners	Drumrs,	Total
Fitt for duty Present. Sickon the Continent Absent with Leave.			I	1	2	2 I	2				3	5 1 3	12 4 8	28 11 20 1	16		6	107
Total	I	I	2	3	3	3	9	I	I	I	9	9	24	60	177		9	313

#### ABSENT OFFICERS.

regts.	NAMES	Since what time abst.	BY WHOSE LEAVE	for what time.	regts.	NAMES	Since what time abst.	BY WHOSE LEAVE	for what time.
15th. {	Major Genl. Amherst Capt. Prescott Lieut. Paske. Capt. Usher. Capt. Smyth Capt. Loftus Lieut. Rutherford Lieut. Genl. Bragg Capt. Littler Capt. Milbank	}	Sick at Louishourg  Gen! Monckton's to the Continent for recovery of Health		58th. {	Colo. Anstruther Lieut. Colo. Howe. Capt. Graydon Capt. Nuttal Capt. Byrd Capt. Leland Lieut. Kemptie Ensn. Wemys Chaplain Walker Lt. Colo. Sr. John St. Clair		Genl. Monckton's, """ ""  Genl. Wolf's "" ""  on duty on board the Prince Frederick.	
35th. {	Lieut. Noble. Lieut. Genl. Otway. Capt. Ormsby Ensn. Armstrong Lieut. Allen Lieut. Maturin Lieut. Blakeney Lieut. Field.	}	on the Regts, business to the Continent His Majesty's  Commander in Chief, at New York, for recovery of health on the Continent by Genl. Monckton's leave, for recovery of health  Genl. Monckton's, on the continent for recovery of health.		2d. B. R. A.	Major Robertson. Capt. Bradstreet Capt. Bosomworth Lieut. Abercrombie. Lieut. Grandidier Lieut. Archbold Lieut. Howarth Lieut. Peyton Revd. M. Ganton Chapn. M. Demer Surgeon's mate		Deputy Qr. Master's Genl. on the Continent  Earl of Loudons, to South Carolina to Europe for his health.  Genl. Monckton's to the Continent for the recovery of their Wounds.  Genl. Monckton's, to Europe for recovery of his Wounds  Not Joyn'd  Genl. Monckton's for recovery of health.	
43đ. {	Chaplain Whitty Major Genl. Kennedy. Ensn. Jones Qr. Master Wilson. Chaplain Bourne Lieut. Genl. Lascelles. Lieut. Colo. Hale Capt. Gardiner.	Oct. 4th. 1759 Oct. 5th. 1759	Lord Loudon's his Majesty's Genl. Monckton's for recovery of Health to Louisbourg on the Regimts, business Officiating by Deputy His Majesty's  to England		3d. B. R. A.	N. B. 2 Capts. 3 Lieuts. 3 Ensns. 6 Serjts. Brigr. Genl. Lawrence Major Prevost Capt. Porter. Lieut. Shard Lieut. St. Clair. Revd. Mr. Ogilvie Chaplain		4 Drummers on Command at Hallifax Governour of Nova Scotia Genl. Monckton's to the Continent for recovery of health.  """""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	
47th. {	Capt. Smelt Capt. D'Arcy Capt. Cox. Capt. Spike. Lieut. Mountain Lieut. Peach. Lieut. Morris Lieut. West.		to England			N. B. 2 Capts. 4 Lieuts. 3 Ensns. 6 Serjts. Major Clephane Major Campbell Capt. Jno. McDonnell Capt. Lt. Rand. McDonnell Lieut. Jno. McTavish. Lt. Jno. Douglas. Capt. Simon Fraser Senr. Capt. James Fraser	Do. June 4th 8br. 5th. 1759	Left sick at New York Never joyn'd his Majesty's Genl. Monckton's to the Continent for health  Left with the Sick at Louisbourg  To the Continent } Genl. Monckton's for Recovery of Health	
48th. {	Lieut. Elphinstone Ensn. Faunca Colo. Webb Major Ross Capt. Christie Lieut. & Qr. Mr. Webb Ensn. Roe. one Serjeant.					Lieut. Alexr. Campbell		Robt. MONCKTON  Brigr. Genl.	



#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF'

# THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

PART I

#### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

1. Advertiser Public, London. October 18th 1759.

Many items of interest concerning Quebec.

- "The brave General Wolfe was in contract of marriage to a lady of great fortune, to be consummated on his return to England."
- 2. Alcock (Revd. Thomas) of St. Budeaux, near Plymouth.
  Relation du Bombardement et Siège de Québec; par
  un Jésuite du Canada; with an English translation;
  London, Yates, 1770.
- 3. Anderson Dr.—Paper read before the Literary & Historical Society in 1870.
- 4. Annual Register (The) or the History of the present war, from the commencement of hostilities in 1755; and continued though the campaigns of 1756-1761,

- 8vo., 254 pp. London Dodsley, Dublin, reprinted by John Exshaw, undated.
- Annual Register (The).—Review of Public Events at home and abroad. 8vo, London Dodsley's. 1 vol. published in 1758. Vol. 2 contains an account of the Siege with references to Wolfe, Saunders and French Prisoners.
- 6. Aubry, (M.) Avocat. Mémoire pour Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan, Capitaine-Aide-Major des Ville et Gouvernement de Québec: Paris, Desprès, 1762 in-4.
- "On trouve dans ce mémoire plusieurs détails intéreseans sur les dernières opérations militaires des Français dans le Canada. Pendant le même procès, on a imprimé plusieurs autres mémoires, savoir : ceux
- "de M. le Marquis de Montcalm, du Sieur de Saint-Blin et du Sieur de
- "Boishébert, Commandants des Forts: du Sieur Varin, Commissaire
- "Ordonnateur, &c. Tous ces mémoires sont très intéressans, en ce qu'ils font connaître le dernier état du Canada sous les Français."

M. DE FONTETTE.

## 7. Baby, Hon. Judge.

In a pamphlet received from France, entitled "Un Munitionnaire du Roi à la Nouvelle France" by M. Alfred Barbier, mention is made of a Study of Joseph Cadet by the Hon. Judge Baby, but we have not seen the work referred to.

8. Bancroft (George). — History of the United States, from the discovery of the American Continent. Illustrated, 9 vols. large 8vo., Boston, 1857-1866.

Contains a good account of the siege of Quebec and the battle of the Plains.

## 9. Barbier Alfred.

See " Mémoire de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest " and " Un Munitionnaire du Roi."

10. Baudoncourt (Jacques de). — Histoire populaire du Canada—Paris, Blond et Boual, n. d. [1886].

Ch. XIV, refers to the Siege.

11. Beatson (Lt. Col. R. S.) — Notes on the Plains of Abraham. Imp. 8vo., 50 pp. Gibraltar printed by the Garrison Library Press, 1858.

The first 11 pages refer to the Plains and the remainder of the book deals with the life of Montcalm. It contains also a plan of the property of Abraham Martin.

The book is exceedingly rare and the only copies we have knowledge of are in the possession of the Garrison Library, Gibraltar, and Sir James Macpherson Lemoine.

12. Beatson (Robert) LL. D.—Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain from 1727 to 1783: London, Longman & Co., 1804. 6 vols 8vo.

The last three volumes contain the whole series of naval and military events which occurred during the American Revolution.

- 13. Beauclaire.—Letter of.
  See Townshend papers.
- Beevor. Thds.—Letter of.
   See Townshend papers.
- Bernier M.—Letter 19 Sept. 1759.
   See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.
- Bigot (François).—Letter 25 Oct. 1759.
   See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.
- 17. Bigot, Intendant.—Contract with Cadet.
  See No. 1, Cadet correspondence. Also letters No 3, 5, 12, 15.

- 18. Boishebert.—Mémoire pour le Sieur De Boishebert, Capitaine, Chevalier de Saint Louis, ci-devant Commandant à l'Acadie. Paris, de l'Imprimerie de Moreau, 1 rue Galande, 1760.
- "Le Marquis de Montcalm, qu'il rencontra sur le pont Saint Charles, lui demanda quelles étoient les dispositions des ennemis. Il lui confirma ce que ce général avoit appris de ce débarquement, & lui dit qu'il les avoir vu des fenêtres de l'hôpital se déployer sur les hauteurs de Québec. Allez donc, lui dit cet officier général, a BeauPort, pour qu'on fasse partir promptement toutes les troupes, & qu'elles se hâtent de me joindre."
- 19. Bonnechose, Charles De. Montcalm et le Canada Français. Essai historique couronné par l'Académie Française. Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1882.
- 20. Borthwick Rev. J. Douglas.—The Battles of the World, large 8vo. 500 pp. Montreal, John Muir, 1866.

Has a chapter on Siege of Quebec.

- 21. Bouchette, Joseph. Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada. Illustrated large 8vo. 700 pp. London 1815, pp. 466 & 467 refer to Siege of Quebec.
- 22. Bouchette Joseph.—The British Dominion in North America. Plans & Views. 2 vols. 4to. London 1831.
- 23. Bougainville (Louis Antoine de).—Notice Historique sur les Sauvages de l'Amérique-Septentrionale [Dans les Mémoires de l'Institut National des Sciences et des Arts, Tome III.]
  - " C'est le même M. DeBougainville qui servit en Canada, comme

Aide-de-Camp, sous le Marquis de Montcalm. Il est décédé à Paris, le 31 août 1811, à l'âge de 82 ans.''

- 24. Bourinot, (Sir John G., K. C. M. G. LL. D.)—See Canada under British Rule.
- 25. Bradley (A. G.)—Life of Wolfe, Men of action series. Cr. 8vo. London (MacMillan).
- 26. Bradley, (A. G.)—The Fight with France for North America. London Constable, 1901.
- 27. Brymner, Douglas.—Reports on Canadian Archives.
- 28. Cadet (J)—The Cadet Correspondence, Pièces justificatives to an article by Mr. Alfred Barbier, in "Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest".
  - Marché pour la fourniture générale des vivres au Canada, Signed.
     J. Cadet, Bigot et Martel
  - 2. Lettre du marquis de Montcalm à M. Cadet, munitionnaire général, à Québec, Montréal, ce 19 mai 1759.
  - 3. L'intendant Bigot au Sieur Cadet à Québec, le 25 mai 1759.
  - 4. J. Cadet à Monseigneur l'intendant de la Nouvelle France. 26 mai 1759.
  - 5. Ordre de l'intendant Bigot, 26 mai 1759
  - 6. Extrait d'une lettre écrite par le Marquis de Vaudreuil à M. de Berryer, ministre de la Marine, 25 mai 1759
  - 7. Instructions du marquis de Vaudreuil pour le Sieur Cadet, munitionnaire général des vivres. 24 juillet 1759.
  - 8. Ordre du Marquis de Vaudreuil pour le Sieur Cadet, 10 août 1759
  - 9. Le Marquis de Vaudreuil au Sieur Cadet 19 août 1759, après midi.

- 10. Le Marquis de Vaudreuil au Sieur Cadet, Du quartier général, le 29 aoust 1759.
- 11. Extrait d'une lettre du Marquis de Vaudreuil à M. de Berryer, ministre de la Marine 5 Oct 1759.
- 12. L'intendant Bigot au ministre Berryer, de Montreal, le 2 novembre 1759, enclosing copy of "Mémoire des vivres" signed J. Cadet, 26 october 1759.
- 13. Lettre de M. le marquis de Vaudreuil, à M. de Berryer, ministre, datée de Montréal, le 7 novembre 1759.
- 14. J. Cadet a Monseigneur l'Intendant, Montréal 25 novembre 1759
- 15. L'Intendant au munitionnaire. A Montréal, le 4 janvier 1760
- 16. Cadet a Monseigneur l'Intendant, à Montréal, le 6 janvier 1760
- 17. Answer of the Intendant dated 7 January 1760
- 18. Extraits d'une lettre de Pierre Desclaux et fils ainé, negociants à Bordeaux, à Joseph Cadet, 25 février 1760
- 19. Le Marquis de Vaudreuil au Sieur Cadet 9 janvier 1761.
- 20. Extrait des lettres de grâce 5 mars 1764
- 21. Attestation de M. le marquis de Vaudreuil 28 septembre 1767
- 22. Gouverneur général du Canada à M. le comte de Maurepas

# 29. Campagne du Canada.

See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.

30. Canada Under British Rule, 1760–1900, by Sir John G. Bourinot K. C. M. G., LL. D., Litt. Doc. author of "Parliamentary Procedure and Practice," "Constitutional History of Canada," "The Story of Canada" &c., with eight maps. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1901.

See also "The Story of Canada".

31. Canadiana.—A Magazine relating to the history of Canada. 8vo., vol. 1. 1st Jany. 1889, publication ceased in Dec. 1890.

Vol. 2 contains an excellent account of the Death of Wolfe by George Murray, B. A., Oxon.

32. Casgrain (The abbé H. R.)—Guerre du Canada, 1756-60—Montcalm et Levis. 8vo. 2 vols. Quebec, 1891.

Illustrated with portraits, maps, autographs, etc.

33. Casgrain (Abbé H. R.)—Guerre du Canada, 1756-1760. Montcalm et Lévis par l'Abbé H. R. Casgrain, Docteur ès-Lettres, professeur à l'Université de Québec, Lauréat de l'Académie Française. Tours, Alfred Mame & Fils, Editeurs, MDCCCXCVIII.

A large 4to. 392 with Plans & Views.

34. Casgrain (P. B., K. C.)—Lecture on Plains of Abraham.
With Plans and Views.

See Quebec Literary and Historical Society.

35. Catalogue of the collection of autograph letters and historical documents of Gerald E. Hart; comprising a most remarkable collection of letters and documents relating to the early history and settlement of Canada; fine American colonial and Revolutionary autographs, etc. New-York 1895.

Refers to autographs of Wolfe & Montcalm.

- 36. Catalogue of the Library of Parliament (Canada) works relating to America pamphlets and manuscripts, large 8vo. viii-821 pp. Toronto 1858.
- 37. Catalogue de la bibliothèque de la Législature de Québec, par L. Pamphile Lemay. Large 8vo., 536 pp. Levis 1873.
- 38. Chambers, E. T. D. Where Wolfe and Montcalm Fought.

See North American Notes and Queries, vol 1. p. 15.

39. Cockings (George).—The Conquest of Canada, or the Siege of Quebec, an historical tragedy of five acts. 8vo. London, 1766, very scarce.

Catalogued by Hy. Stevens, Son & Stiles at £1 1 s.

40. Cooper (Samuel).—A sermon preached before His Excellency Thomas Pownall, Esq.; Captain General and Governor in Chief, the Honourable His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England, October 16<sup>th,</sup> 1759. Upon occasion of the success of His Majesty's Arms, in the Reduction of Quebec. By Samuel Cooper, A. M., Pastor of a Church in Boston. 8vo. 53 pp. Boston, New England. Printed by Green & Russell, and Edes & Gill, by order of His Excellency the Governor, and both Houses of Assembly. Undated [1760].

Les sept premières pages sont occupées par la *Dédicace* à Pownall. Porte la signature autographe de Moses Gill. L'exemplaire de la collection d'Allaghan a été adjugé à \$8.00—Gagnon's *Essai*.

One of the avalanche of similar books printed about this time—Of value as a curiosity and as a sidelight on the pre-Revolutionary period of New England.

#### 41. Cornwallis, Countess of.

See letters of in Townshend papers.

42. Corps Papers. First Number | of the | Corps Papers, | and | Memoires on Military Subjects; | Compiled from | Contributions of the officers of the | Royal and East India Company's | Engineers. | Printed for circulation among Subscribers. | Allegorical cut and motto, Nil actum credens cum quid Superent agendum. Royal 8vo unbound 100 pages with map and numerous illustrations London; | John Weale, High Holborn, | MDCCCXLVIII.

The above volume edited, according to the Preface by G. G. Lewis Colonel Royal Engineers and J. Williams, Captain Royal Engineers contains a large "Plan of the Town and Basin of Quebec, and part of the adjacent country, showing the principal encampments and works of the British army, commanded by Major Genl. Wolfe, and those of the French Army, by Lieut. Genl. the Marquis of Montcalm, during the attack in 1759. "The following note appears on the map." The letters refer to the account of the Siege by the Engineer Officers. The Yellow parts show the British works, the Red, British troops, and the blue, French." Engraved by Day and Son, Lithographers to the Queen. Size 30 x 19.

Pages 1 & 2 of the Volume give explanatory references to the plan above mentioned; and pages 3 to 20 contain a description of the expedition in 1759 "by an engineer upon that expedition," said in a foote-note to be Major Moncrief.

The rest of the Volume is occupied by micellaneous scientific articles of interest to the profession.

There is no mention of this volume in any of the bibliographies on Ap. III—II

America which we have consulted, and the work is now very rare. The copy in our possession was secured in London.

- 43. Courrier du Canada, May 15-16-17-18, 1899, contain articles on the Plains of Abraham by the Hon. Thos. Chapais, LL. D.
- 44. Daine, M.—Letter 9 Oct. 1759.

See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.

45. Dawson (Rev. Eli) Chaplain of H. M. S. Stirling Castle.—A Discourse delivered at Quebec in the Chappel belonging to the convent of the Ursulins, Sept 27; 1759. Occasion of the Success of our Arms in the Reduction of that Capital: at the request of Brigadier General Monckton, and by order of Vice Admiral Saunders, commander in chief. London, printed for R. Griffiths opposite Somerset House in the Strand. 14 p. unbound, MDCCLX.

The volume is dedicated by the author to Mrs. Wolf (pp. 1 & 2.) sermon from Psalm xviii. 49. (pp. 3 to 14)

From a copy in British Museum. This is probably the first protestant sermon preached in Quebec after the capitulation. Copies are exceedingly scarce.

46. *Deeds* Relating to the Race Course, where it is contended by certain parties that the battle of the Plains was fought.

Originals in the Ursuline Convent, Quebec. See also page 411 of the Transactions of the Royal Society for 1900.

47. Desclaux, Pierre.

See letter No. 18 Cadet Correspondence

48. *Desjardins*, Gustave.—Recherches sur les Drapeaux Français, oriflamme, Bannière de France Marques Nationales, Couleurs du Roi, Drapeaux de l'Armée Pavillons de la marine.

Illustrated with many engravings and 41 coloured plates. Imp. 8vo. Paris (Morel et Cie) 1874.

Gives the flags of the various French Regiments at the Siege.

49. Doughty (A., F. R. Hist. S., Eng.)—Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series 1899-1900, Vol. V. Sec. ii, pp. 359 to 425. "The probable site of battle of the plains of Abraham" by Arthur G. Doughty, illustrated with plans and half tone engravings with an introductory note by the Editor, Sir John Bourinot.

"This paper came too late to be read and discussed in the Section, but in view of the interest taken in the subject, and the judicial spirit which the author brings to its elucidation, the Editor deems it expedient to present it in full to the public as soon as possible. The illustrations and plans, collected with great care by Mr. Doughty, give to the paper a special value, and must assist the student in coming to a correct conclusion."

- 50. Doughty and Parmelee (A., and G. W.)—The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

  Illustrated with maps and plans, six vols royal 4to.

  Quebec, Dussault & Proulx, 1901.
- 51. Dussieux L.—Le Canada sous la domination Française d'après les archives de la marine et de la guerre. 8vo. 471 pp. Paris, 1862.

Reprinted in Quebec "au bureau de la "Reforme," 1863, 196 pp. in-12 mo.

52. Elliot, Major.

See letter, in Townshend papers.

53. Entick (John)—The general history of the late War: containing its rise, progress and event, in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, &c. 5 vols 8vo. London, 1775. A large number of maps and plates.

The plates include Sir William Johnson, Gen. Townshend, Sir W. Pitt, Admiral Boscawen, Lord Howe, Sir J. Amherst, Gen. Wolfe, Plan of the Siege of Quebec, General Monkton, Admiral Saunders, &c. Catalogued by Henry Stevens Son & Stiles at £2 125 6d.

54. Faribault, G.-B., Advocate. — Catalogue d'ouvrage sur l'Histoire de l'Amérique, et en particulier sur celle du Canada, de la Louisiane, de l'Acadie, et autres lieux, ci-devant connus sous le nom de Nouvelle-France, avec des notes bibliographiques, critiques et littéraires. In three parts. 8vo. 207 pp., Quebec (W. Cowan) 1837.

The first bibliography on the history of America, and one of the most valuable ever compiled. Mr. Faribault's accuracy has stood the test of time, and has been of immense advantage to all students of Canadian history. This book is now quite rare.

55. Father Abraham's Almanac for the year of our Lord 1761. Some account of the life of that renowned hero, General James Wolfe, Conqueror of Canada &c. by Abraham Weatherwise, Genl.—about 2,500 words.

A very excellent biographical sketch. A copy of this almanac is in the Library of Harvard University from which a transcript was made. The almanac also contains a plan of Quebec.

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- 56. Ferland, (Abbé J.-B.-A.)—Cours d'histoire du Canada. 8vo., Quebec, 1865.
- 57. Ferté, le chevalier de la.

See letter of, in Townshend papers.

- 58. Form of Prayer (a) to be used after the general thanksgiving for the defeat of the French Army in Canada and the taking of Quebeck by His Majesty's forces, and for the other successes and blessings of the year. Small 4to. London, 1759.
- 59. Fortescue (Hon. J. W.)—A History of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lancers by Hon. J. W. Fortescue., 8vo. 246 pp. with several plates. London, MacMillan & Co. and New York, 1895.

Contains a reference to Col. John Hale who raised the Regiment in 1759 in honour of General Wolfe.

- 60. Foxcroft (Thomas) D. D.—Thanksgiving Sermon on Conquest of Canada: Boston, 1760.
- 61. Fraser, Col. Malcolm.—Journal of the Siege of Quebec See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.
- 62. Fraser, Simon.

See letter of, in Townshend papers.

63. Gabriel (L'Abbé).—Le maréchal de Camp Désandrouins, 1729-1792. Guerre du Canada, 1756-1760. Guerre de l'Indépendance américaine, 1780-1782, 8vo. viii, 416 pp. Verdun, 1887.

64. Gagnon (Philéas). — Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne: inventaire d'une bibliothèque comprenant impressions, manuscrits, estampes, etc, relatifs à l'histoire du Canada et des pays adjacents, avec des notes bibliographiques. Large 8vo. Oct. 711 pp. Quebec, printed for the author, 1895.

Illustrated by numerous fac similes of title pages Mss and ex libris.

Mr. Gagnon is one of the most enthusiastic collectors of Canadiana and his opinion on the bibliography of this subject is considered by historians in Canada and the U. S. to be that of an expert.

65. Gardiner, Richard, Captain of Marines in the Rippon.—Memoirs | of the | Siege of Quebec | Capital of all Canada | and | of the Retreat of | Monsieur de Bourlemaque | from Carillon to the Isle aux Noix | in Lake Champlain | from the | Journal of a French Officer | on board of the Chezine Frigate | taken by His Majesty's Ship Rippon | Compared with the accounts transmitted Home | by Major General Wolfe and Vice Admiral Saunders | with occasional Remarks.

"In joys of Conquest he resigns his breath, and, Fill'd with England's Glory, smiles in Death." Ad. Campaign.

Printed for R. & J. Dodsley, London, in Pallmall, MDCCLXI. Quarto, 36 pp. unbound (price one shilling and six pence.)

Collation, title, blank verso. Introduction pp. 3 to 11. Journal pp. 13 to 32. Articles of Capitulation 32 to 36.

In consideration that this work contains expert opinions and observations from both French and English standpoints, it is undoubtedly the most valuable contemporary record of the Siege. It absolutely fixes the position of the British army after the ascent of the Cliff, the route taken to

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the battle field along the St. Foye Road, and designates the houses on the left occupied by the British Light Infantry, before the arrival of the French on the heights. Captain Knox in his Journal p. 70 and seq., Vol II, gives a translation of a portion of a manuscript which is evidently taken from this Journal.

The brochure from which this copy is taken is very scarce and there is not a copy in the Brit. M. the only copy of which we have any knowledge is in the Library of Harvard University, a transcript from which was made under the direction of M. W. C. Lane, Librarian of the University, for the "Siege of Quebec."

66. Garneau, F. X.—Histoire du Canada, 4 vols 8vo. Montreal (Beauchemin & Valois) 1882.

A rather poor Translation made by Bell was published in Montreal in 1862.

67. Gentleman's Magazine, 8vo. London, first vol. published in 1731.

The vol. for 1759 contains some information on the Siege.

68. Genuine | Letters | from a | Volunteer | in |
British Service, | at Quebec | London. Printed for H.
Whitridge, at the Royal Exchange; and A. & C.
Corbett, opposite to Dunstan's Church, Fleet street.

Oct. unbound. pp 2 to 4, preface. 5 to 26, genuine letters, &c.

These letters, three in number, are evidently from a naval officer. The first is dated on board the Stirling Castle, in the River St Lawrence, 2 miles below the City of Quebec, Sept. 2nd 1759. This letter is in the form of a Journal covering the period from June 13 to Sep. 1st. The second subdivision of the book consists on an extract from another letter of the same date to Mr. M. P. This deals in a rather spirited way with the severe measures necessitated by war. The third and last letter to Mr. J. W. is dated Quebec, Sep. 20 1759. This also takes the form of a Journal from the 3rd. September, with a full description of the battle;

"Before I conclude, it may not be amiss to mention my own situation on the important 13th. I was a volunteer among a large body of seamen landed about 5 o'clock in the morning and appointed as a *corps de reserve*, but such was their impetuosity to engage and their resentment at being kept out of danger, that according to their accustomed politeness they were perpetually d— mn—g their eyes &c because they were restrained from pushing into the heart of the fire before they were wanted.

The letters are splendid examples of the literary style of the period. The writer observed closely, and tells his story in a most entertaining manner.

The pamphlet is rare, and was offered very recently by Henry Stevens Sons & Stiles for seven pounds ten shillings.

There is a copy in the British Museum from which a transcript was secured for this work.

69. Goreham, Capt.

See letter in Townshend papers.

70. Grove J.—Mr. Grove of Richmond.—A | letter | to a | Right Honourable Patriot; | upon the glorious success at | Quebec | in which is drawn a | Parallel | between a | good & bad General, | a Scene exhibited, wherein are introduced, | (besides others) | three of the greatest names in Britain; | and a particular account of the manner | of | General Wolfe's death | with a postcript which enumerates the other | conquests mentioned in the London address. |

Be just and fear not.

SHAKESPARE. |

He moved not but a wounded Frenchman fell | To mark his passage. See page 18. |

London. | printed for J. Burd, opposite St. Dunstan's

Church, Fleet Street | MDCCLIX | . (Price one shilling) | 58 pages, 8vo.

A most quaint and exceedingly rare publication containing many important biographical details.

The only copy we have been able to discover in the library of Congress at Washington, D. C. A transcript was made for this work under the direction of the Librarian of Congress to whom we are much indebted.

71. Guest, Moses.—Poems on Several Occasions, to which are annexed extracts from a Journal kept by the author. 8vo. Cincinnati 1824, 160 p.

Contains an account of the battle.

- 72. Harper.—The Battle of the Plains, by J. M. Harper. (Empire Day Booklets,) with small plan, 48 pages. Quebec, published for the author [1900]
- 73. Haverhill.— | or, | Memoirs | of an | Officer in the Army of Wolfe, | by James Athearn Jones | "Glory's pillow is but restless if | Love lay not down his cheek there." | Werner. | in three volumes, | London: T. & W. Boone, 29 New Bond Street | 1831.
- 74. Hart (Gerald E.)—The Fall of New France, 1755-1760. Richly Illustrated by Portraits and views. Quarto vii—175 pp. Montreal 1888.

Mr. Hart is a well known bibliophile, who takes especial interest in Canadiana.

75. Hawkins (Alfred).—Picture of Quebec with historical recollections. Illustrated by Fourteen engravings.

Small 8vo, viii—477 pp. Quebec: Printed for the proprietor by Neilson & Cowan, 1834

See Doughty-Transactions Roy. Soc. of Can. 1900. pp. 401 & 402.

Mr. Hawkins' account appears to be in accordance with the majority of the testimony, until he commences to picture the scene himself, then it becomes a case of Hawkins versus Hawkins. In the first place he describes the four-gun battery as being on the left of the British. Later, he claims that the ruins of the battery near the race stand which commanded the field, were probably the remains of the battery mentioned by Townshend in his despatch. If this were so, then the battery would have been on the right of the English and not on the left as asserted by Townshend, Knox, and other authorities. Moreover, on the plans, and on the drawing made at the time by the aide-de-camp of General Wolfe, this battery is placed on the left, the guns command the river and not the field, and between the battery and the field, some houses intervene.

In his attempt to be precise as to the relative positions of the army, Mr. Hawkins is unfortunate. The terminus a quo, without the terminus ad quem, is useless. The St. Lawrence is a large river, and a line might be drawn from either of the points given by Mr. Hawkins to Cape Diamond to Sillery, or to any other point on the river at will. We are, therefore, unable to gain much information from this source.

The next passage of importance in this quotation, is the direct statement that the severest fighting occurred between the right of the race stand and the Martello Towers. On page 357, Mr. Hawkins writes: "The English were ordered to reserve their fire until the French were "within forty yards. They observed these orders strictly." The French were therefore within forty yards of the right of the race stand. Mr. Hawkins makes it quite clear that the redoubt near which Wolfe is said to have died, was occupied by the English before the final engagement. As this redoubt is at least a quarter of a mile eastward of the right of the race stand, the French, to gain this ground within 40 yards of the English, must have passed the Grenadiers who occupied the redoubt, and cut them off from the rest of the English army. "The General did me the honour to detach me with a few Grenadiers to take that ground and maintain it to the last extremity, which I did until the two armies

"were engaged." Further passages relating to this redoubt become still more involved. Mr. Hawkins refers to this redoubt as the place "against "which the attack was directed, which Wolfe so gallantly urged on by his personal example." We have seen from the same author that the French were near the right of the race stand at the commencement of the attack, and that at the time the redoubt was occupied by the English, nevertheless, Mr. Hawkins states, that Wolfe gallantly led his men on to attack this redoubt. Wolfe was therefore leading an attack against his own army!

76. Henty (G. A.)—With Wolfe in Canada, 12 page illustrations by Gordon Browne. 8vo. London (Blackie).

A stirring romance originally written for boys—The author has constructed a most readable tale.

77. *Hinde* (Dr.)—Physician to general Wolfe. His description of Wolfe's personal appearance.

Boston Medical & Surgical Journal Vol. II pp. 620-622, (1829).

78. Historical Manuscripts Commission.—Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part IV. The manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend. London Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1887. pp. 467. Pages 306 to 328, relate to the Siege of Quebec.

In volume V of "the Siege of Quebec," several manuscripts are printed which are not included in the Report, and were not apparently at the disposal of the Commission.

- 79. Howard, (Middleton).—The Conquest of Quebec. Prize Poem, Oxford University. Oxford, 1810.
- 80. Jefferys (Thomas). The Natural and Civil | History | of the | French Dominions | in North and South America. | With an Historical detail of the acquisitions, and Conquests, made by the | British

Arms in those parts. | Giving a particular account of the | Climate, Soil, Minerals, Animals, Vegetables, Manufactures, Trade, Commerce and Languages Together with | The Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners and | Customs of the Indians and other inhabitants. | Illustrated by | Maps and Plans of the principal Places | Collected from the best authors, and engraved by T. Jefferys, Geographer to his Majesty | Part II. Containing | Part of the Islands of St. Domingo and St. Martin | the Islands of | St. Bartholomew, Guadaloupe, Martinico, La Grenade, and | the Island and Colony of Cayenne. | London: | Printed for T. Jefferys at Charing-Cross; W. Johnston, in Ludgate St.; J. Richardson in Paternoster Row, and B. Law & Co., in Ave-Mary-Lane. MDCCLXI. In folio.

The plans contained in this rare work are of the greatest importance. Owing to the author's position they may be regarded as official. See "Monthly Review" vol. xxii, p. 81.

81. Johnstone? (Chevalier) A. D. C. to General Levis.—
"Dialogue in Hades."

See Quebec Literary and Historical Society.

82. Journal, Anonymous. — An | accurate and Authentic | Journal | of the | Siege of Quebec, | 1759, | by a Gentleman in an Eminent | station on the spot. | London, | printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden | Lion, Ludgate St., MDCCLIX. | [Price one shilling]

Pages 2 to 4 of preface entitled a Short Description of Quebec, in 1759.

Journal, pages 5 to 31. The Journal commences on June 5 and gives all important events of the Siege down to Sep. 17th.

A part of the Journal appears to have been written on the morning of the 13th of September 1759 while the troops were in motion.

Francis Parkman, in the appendix to Montcalm and Wolfe, (page 287, Vol. iii, Ed. 1900) mentions a Journal with a somewhat similar title published in Dublin 1759, but we have been unable to find any such work in Dublin or in the British Museum.

The transcript in our possession was made from the copy in the British Museum.

- 83. Journal. An accurate and Authentic Journal of the Siege of Quebec in 1759, by a Gentleman in an eminent station on the spot: London, Owen, 1759, 8vo. This appears to be a reprint of the previous No.
- 84. Journal.—De L'Expédition sur le Fleuve St. Laurent, contenant un rapport détaillé des mouvements de la flotte et de l'Armée anglaises depuis le moment de son embarquement à Louisbourg, jusqu'à la reddition de Québec en 1759.

A Translation from the "New York Mercury" No 385 dated from New-York 21th December 1759. 16 pages small 8vo. unbound printed at Le Journal de Québec, 1855.

85. Journal (Extrait d'un) tenu à l'armée que commandait Feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm

See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.

86. Journal (A) of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence; containing a true and particular account of the transactions of the Fleet and Army, from the Time of their Embarkation at Louisbourg till after the surrender of Quebec. Extract from the New York Mercury

of the 31st December 1759, 2 pages folio. Translated and printed in French in Quebec by Aug. Coté.

See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.

87. Journal.—A | Journal | of the | Expedition | up the | River St. Lawrence | containing | a true and most Particular account of the | transactions of the Fleet and Army un | der the Command of Admiral Saunders | and General Wolfe from the time of | their Embarkation at Louisbourg til af | ter the Surrender of Quebeck | by the Sergeant-Major of Gen. Hop | son's Grenadiers. | Boston: Printed and sold by Fowle and | Draper, at their Printing-Office in Marlborough | Street. 1759. 24 pages 8vo. unbound.

This Journal seems in many respects to be similar to that published by the New York Mercury 31. Dec 1759. There are however many additional facts of importance which are not included in the Mercury, for example page 9;

"The same day we went to get our plunder, which we discovered on our March round the Island, consisting of Gowns, Shirts, petticoats, Stockings, Coats and Waiscoats, Breeches, Shoes, and many other articles too tedious to mention, and some Cash; which, if the Things had been sold to the value, would [have] fetch'ed upwards of 500 l. Ster."

The Journal runs from June 1st. to Sep. 19 1759.

There is a copy of the pamphlet in the Library of Congress at Washington from which a transcript was made for this work under the direction of the Librarian.

88. Journal of the Particular Transactions of the Siege of Quebec by an officer of Frasers Highlanders. Published in Notes & Queries.

89. Journal.—A Journal of the Siege of Quebec, to which is annexed a Correct Plan of the Environs of Quebec, and of the Battle fought on the 13<sup>th</sup> September, 1759; Together with a particular detail of the French Lines and Batteries and also the Encampments, Batteries and Attacks of the British Army, and the Investiture of that City under the Command of Vice Admiral Saunders, Major General Wolfe, Brigadier General Monckton and Brigadier General Townshend, Drawn from the original Surveys taken by the Engineers of the army. Engraved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to his Majesty. Price, Five Shillings. 16 pp. octavo. (1760).

The plan measures  $34\frac{1}{2} \times 16$  inches within the border lines. There is also a second plate overlying the first showing the altered positions as the engagement proceeded.

Excessively scarce. A copy was catalogued some years ago at £12. 10. 0, but £20, 0. 0. was recently refused for a copy.

90. Jugement Impartial.

See Quebec Literary and Historical Society.

91. Jugement rendu souverainement et en dernier ressort, dans l'affaire du Canada, par Messieurs les Lieutenant-Général de Police, Lieutenant particulier et Conseillers au Chatelet et Siège Présidial de Paris, Commissaires du Roi en cette partie. (1)

Printed in small type on a single sheet, size 50 x 23 inches. Above appear the Royal Arms and the following notice "pour être lue et

<sup>(1)</sup> The judgment against Bigot and his associates was rendered on the 10th December 1763.

publiée à haute voix, à son de trompe et cri public en tous les lieux et endroits ordinaires et accoutumés à ce que personne n'en prétende cause d'ignorance.''

92. Jugement.—Mémoire pour Messire François Bigot, ci-devant Intendant de Justice, Police, Finance et Marine en Canada | Accusé, | Contre Monsieur le Procureur Général du Roi à la Commission, | Accusateur. | Première partie. | Contenant l'Histoire de l'Administration du Sieur Bigot dans la Colonie, et des Réflexions générales sur cette Administration | A Paris | De l'Imprimerie de P. Al. le Prieur | Imprimeur du Roi | rue Saint Jacques, MDCCLXIII.

Factum in the celebrated Inquiry, regarding the scandals in Canada. Most important:

Page 224—'' Un Détachement Anglois débarqua, à minuit, à une lieue audessus de Québec dans un endroit escarpé, qu'on avoit jugé inaccessible.''

- 93. Kerallain (M. de R.)—Les Français au Canada.—La Jeunesse de Bougainville, et la guerre de sept ans. Paris 1896, 190 pp.
- 94. Kingsford (Wm.)—History of Canada, 10 vols. 8vo. London (Tubner) 1888.
  - Vol. IV contains an account of the Siege.
- 95. Knox, (Captain John).—An Historical Journal of the Campaigns, in North America, for the year 1757, 1758, 1759 & 1760: containing the most remarkable occurences of that period, particularly the two Sieges, &c., the orders of the Admirals and General officers, Descriptions of the countries where the author has served,

with their Forts and Garrison; the climate, soil, products and a regular diary of the weather, &c. Dedicated by permission to Lieutenant General Sir Jeffery Amherst. 2 vols: quarto. Map, full page portraits of Amherst and Wolfe, respectively engraved on copper by J. Miller. Vol. 1, 405 pages. Vol. 2, 465. London, printed for the Author and sold by W. Johnston, in Ludgate Street, 57, Dodsly, in Pall Mall. MDCC-LXIX.

The two volumes are quoted in London at £8. o. o.

See also Mr. Philéas Gagnon's note in the Essai.

96. Lambert (John).—Travels Through Lower Canada and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807 and 1808, with biographical notices and anecdotes of some of the leading characters of the U. S., etc., with large folding map and numerous colored plates and charts. 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1810.

The colored plates illustrate Canadian costume, and there is a chart relating to Quebec.

- 97. Leeke, Rev. Robt.—Letters of See Townshend papers.
- 98. Lemoine (Sir James Macpherson)—Quebec Past and Present—A History of Quebec—1608—1876, illustrated, 8vo. cloth. XV.—466 pp. Quebec 1876.

Gives a description of the Seige of the city and the Battle of the Plains—1759.

99. Lemoine (Sir James Macpherson)—La mémoire de

Montcalm vengée ou le massacre au Fort George. Documents historiques recueillis par J. M. Lemoine, 16mo unbound, 91 pages. Quebec, 1864.

100. Levis (Chevalier de).—Dispositions Générales, juin 10, 1759.

See Townshend correspondence No 6.

101. Lyttleton to Townshend.

See Townshend correspondence two letters No 1, 2.

- 102. Macarty (Thadeus).—Two Fast Sermons before the expedition to Canada: Boston, 1759 12mo.
- 103. Macleod (Sergt. Donald).—Memoirs of the life and gallant exploits of the old Highlander, Sergeant Donald Macleod, who, having returned wounded, with the corpse of General Wolfe, from Quebec, was admitted an out pensioner of Chelsea Hospital in 1759; and is now in the CIII<sup>d</sup> year of his age. 8vo. 98 pp. London, MDCCXCI.

In the copy to be found in the Barlow collection William Thompson is given as the author of this work.—Philéas Gagnon.

104. Malartic (Comte de Maurès de), lieutenant général des armées du Roi, gouverneur des îles de France et de Bourbon, 1730-1800. Journal des campagnes au Canada de 1755 à 1760, publié par son arrière petit-neveu le comte Gabriel de Maurès de Malartic, et par Paul Gafferal, professeur à la faculté des lettres de Dijon.

Illustrated by portrait and by four folding maps. 8vo. XXVI—370 pages. Dijon (L. Damidot) 1890.

A well written Journal of the principal events of the Siege.

105. Manduit (Israel).—An | Apology | For the | life And Actions | of General Wolfe | against the | Misrepresentatives | in a pamphlet, called | A Counter address to the | public | with | Some other Remarks on that Performance. | London. — Printed in the year 1765. 8vo., 57 pp.

Only 25 copies of this book were printed, and the one in the British Museum from which our transcript was made has a number of memoranda and corrections in the author's handwriting. Gives valuable details about Wolfe's course and the story of the Siege.

- 106. Mante (Thomas).—History of the Late war in North America; London 1772. 4to. with 18 large Maps and Plans.
- 107. Martin (Rev. Father Felix, S. J.)—De Montcalm en Canada.

See under Montcalm.

- 108. Mayhew (Jonathan, D.D.)—Two thanksgiving sermons for the reduction of Quebec: Boston, 1759. 8vo.
- October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1760. Being the Day appointed to be observed as a Day of public thanksgiving for the Success of His Majesty's Arms, more especially in the entire Reduction of Canada. By Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church in Boston—8vo. 69 pp. Boston: Printed and sold by R. Draper, in Newbury Street; Edes and Gill, in Queen Street and T and J. Fleet, in Cornhill, 1760.

One of the curious publications referring to the siege and Capture of Quebec of no historical value.

110. *Mémoires* de La Société des Antiquaires de L'Ouest, tome IX. Poitiers, E. Druinaud, Libraire-Éditeur, 6 rue de la Mairie 1887, pp. 444.

For a copy of this work the authors are indebted to M. de Kerallain.

M. Alfred Barbier contributes a very valuable study to this volume, entitled *Chroniques du Haut Poitou*. La Baronnie de la Touche-D'Avrigny et le Duché de Chatellerault sous François Ier. (212 pp.). The pièces justificatives comprise several documents relating to Canada during the Siege in 1759.

111. Military and Naval.—(The) History of Great Britain, being an account of the battles, Sieges, revolutions, rebellions, and other commotions of the English Nation from Julius Cæsar down to the conclusion of the late war, 8vo. London, 1778, 2 vols. portraits, very rare.

Includes long accounts of the expeditions against Louisbourg and Quebec; also Naval operations in the West Indies. The portraits include Drake, Raleigh, Anson, Hawke, Boscawen, &c.

Catalogued by Hy. Stevens, Son & Stiles at £1 5 o.

112. Monckton, Robt.

See letters in Townshend papers.

113. Montcalm to Townshend.—Sept. 16, 1759.

See Townshend Correspondence, No. 17.

114. Montcalm.—De Montcalm en Canada, ou les dernières années de la colonie Française, par un ancien missionnaire. Illustrated. 8vo., x—354 pp. Paris, 1867.

The author was Rev. Father Felix Martin, S. J., for many years Archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, to whose energy is due the admirable collection of Canadian Jesuitica in the College and which is now under the care of Rev. Father A. E. Jones, S. J.

115. Montcalm.—Eloge Historique de Monsieur le Marquis de Montcalm, (extrait du Mercure de France de 1760).

Contains a full page cut of the Marquis and a fac-simile of his signature. 20 pages, 8vo. Québec, Imprimerie d'A. Côté & Cie.

116. Montcalm.—Lettres de monsieur le Marquis de Montcalm, gouverneur général en Canada; à Messieurs de Berryer et de la Molé, écrites dans les années 1757, 1758 et 1759. Avec une version anglaise (en regard). Portrait of Montcalm 8vo. 28-28 pp. A Londres: chez J. Almon, vis-à-vis de Burlington-House, Picadilly, 1777.

These letters are believed to be spurious. Mr. Gagnon in his Essai gives the following list of references to them. Garneau, 1st Edition, vol. 3, p. 18, Warburton, Conquest of Canada, the Introduction. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe vol. ii, p. 325-26. Canadian Archives Report for 1874 where Abbé Verreau attributes the letters to Père Roubaud; also the Report for 1885, note E. Bibliotheca Historica of Henry Stevens (Boston 1870) Gentleman's Magazine for July 1777, p. 342. Histoire impartiale des événements militaires et politiques de la dernière guerre, (Amsterdam 1785) par l'Abbé Pierre de Longchamps. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1869, contains a learned dissertation on these letters by Parkman. Monthly Review, April 1777, p. 306. Thoughts on the letter of Edmund Burke, p. 56. The Plains of Abraham notes original and selected by Beatson, Gilbraltar, 1858. L'Union Libérale, newspaper published in Quebec, vol. i, No. 14. Some short and impartial inquiries into the propriety of the present war in America, with regard to the British Arms (s. 1. apparently printed in France,) 8vo. 34 p. 1778. where is found the following note: "Whether they were spurious (the letters of Montcalm) or not, I will not pretend to determine, this however is certain, that long before our troubles commenced in America such letters appeared in a Paris Gazette, and were given to the public as having that great though unfortunate general (Montcalm) for their author."

In February 1894, Stevens of London catalogued a copy of this book at  $\pounds_4$ .

117. Montcalm.—Précis historique ou abrégé de l'histoire du Canada avec aperçu sur les principaux personnages du pays, Illustrated, 8vo. pp iv-44-64, Montreal, 1867. Author unknown.

Contains portraits of Montcalm, Levis, Bougainville etc.

118. Montcalm, Marquis de.—

See letter No. 2 Cadet Correspondence.

- and Captain John Montrésor. Published in the Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1881. New York, Printed for the Society MDCCCLXXXII. with portraits of John and James Montrésor, after Copley (artotype). Edited by G. D. Scull, Oxford, with note on the Family of Montrésor pp. 576.
- 120. Montreuil, Chevalier de.—Letter 22 Sept. 1759.

The Quebec Literary and Historical Society.

121. Munitionnaire du Roi à la Nouvelle France. Joseph Cadet (1756-1781) par M. Alfred Barbier, président de la société des Antiquaires de l'ouest. Poitiers, imprimerie Blais et Roy, 7 rue Victor-Hugo. 1900. 16 pp. 8vo.

122. Murphy, (Henry).—The conquest of Quebec. An epic poem in eight books. Small 8vo., 308 pp. Dublin. Printed for the author by W. Porter, Skinner Row, MDCCXL. Collation: "To the Marquis Townshend."

2 pp. unnumbered, Preface and Argument, xix pp. List of subscribers, 4 pp. unnumbered. Text, 308 pp.

This work might also be considered under Curiosa. There are about 8000 lines in the poem. The author was blind from the age of 5 years.

123.—Murray, George, B.A. A. K.C. F.R.S.C. — Death of Wolfe.

In "Canadiana" Vol. 2. p. v.

124. Murray, James.—

See letters of, in Townshend papers.

125. Murray to Townshend.—Two letters.

See Townshend Correspondance No. 30.

- 126. New-York.—Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent, Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D., L.L. D., 10 vols large 4to. Albany (Weed, Parsons & Co.) 1856-1858.
- Society for the year 1881. Publication Fund series, with portraits and plans. New-York, printed for the Society. MDCCCLXXXII, large octavo, 576 pp.

Contains the Journals of Colonel James and Captain John Montrésor.

128. North American Notes & Queries. A monthly Journal of Intercommunication devoted to Literature, History, Bibliography, Archæology, &c. Quebec.

No. 1, vol. 1, July 1900, pp. 15 to 22, contains an article by the Editor E. T. D. Chambers, Esq., entitled "Where Wolfe and Montcalm fought" with a plan of the battle. Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 93-94, refers to previous article under title of "The Battlefield Controversy," and includes another plan prepared by Mr. P. B. Casgrain, K. C.

- 129. Nova Scotia.—Report and Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vols 1 to 10, 8vo. Halifax, 1878 to 1899.
- of the Province of Nova Scotia, Published under a Resolution of the House of Assembly passed March 15, 1865. Edited by Thos. B. Akins D.C. L. Commissioner of Public Records—The translations from the French by Benj. Curren D.C. L. 8vo. 753 pp. Halifax N. S. (Chas Annand) 1869.

Contains important papers relating to the Siege of Quebec.

131. Old French War. An Impartial History of the late war. Deduced from the committing of hostilities in 1749, to the signing of the definitive Treaty of Peace in 1763. 12mo. London, 1763. Plates.

Contains the declarations of war in the Introduction

132. Orders, (General) in Wolfe's army during the Expedition of the River St. Lawrence.

See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.

133. Pamphlets. The Conduct of the Ministry Impartially

examined. London, 1760.—A vindication of the conduct of the present war, in a letter to \*\*\*\*. London, 1760. A letter to the Earl of Bute, on a late important resignation, and its probable consequences. London, 1761.—Letter from a patriot in retirement to Mr. William Pitt. London, 1761.—Observations on the papers relative to the rupture with Spain. London, 1762.—An answer to the observations on the papers relative to the rupture with Spain. London, 1762.

With other tracts bound up in one volume, 8vo. Catalogued by Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles at £1. 10 s.

134. Panet, Jean-Claude.—Journal du Siège de Québec en 1759. Montreal, Eusèbe Sénécal, 1866.

From the 10th of May to the 8th of Sept., a note at the end of the vol., says: "le reste du manuscrit n'a pas été conservé." 24 pages, 8vo., unbound. Also published by Quebec L. & H. Soc., which see.

The author of this Journal was the father of the Hon. J. C. Panet, who was Speaker of the Assembly of Lower Canada.

The details in this manuscript are very precise.

135. Parker, (Gilbert).—The Seats of the Mighty. Illustrated, 8vo.

A romance dealing with the Siege of Quebec and the period immediately preceeding it.

136. Parkman, (Francis).—Montcalm and Wolfe (France and England in North America, Part Seventh). Illustrated, in 3 volumes. Toronto, George Morang & Co., 1899. University Press, John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, U. S.

137. Periodicals.

See Under Advertiser.

138. Periodicals.—European Magazine. Short Annecdote regarding the general's physical infirmity.

From the European Magazine, March 1798.

139. Periodicals. — European Magazine. Wolfe to Col. Burton, Sutherland above Garouge, Monday Sept. 11. 1759. (1)

Outlining the plan of attack, and giving the hour of the landing on the 13th as about 4 o'clock. This plan was fulfilled in every respect. About 500 words.

From the European Magazine, vol. xiii, Feb. 1788. We have been unable to trace the original.

- 140. Periodicals—London Chronicle, 1788, Aug. 16 to 19.
  Referring to a tradition that Wolfe was shot by a deserter.
- 141. *Periodicals*.—Monthly Review, Vol. 22, p. 8. See under Jeffreys.
- 142. Periodical.—Quebec Star (1828) History of Duncan McFee, of Fraser's Highlanders.

A highly humorous incident.

- 143. Periodical.—Quebec Star (1828) History of Sergt. Allan Cameron of the Grenadiers Co. of Frasers Highlanders forming a part of the Army under General Wolfe, Employed in the Expedition against Quebec in the year 1759.
  - "I distinctly saw Montcalm approach on horseback."

<sup>(1)</sup> Evidently an Error Monday fell on the 10th September.

144. Periodicals.—Reviews on "The probable site of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. (Doughty)

Herald, Montreal, March 29, 1900.

L'Evénement, Quebec, May 15, 1900.

The Gazette, Montreal, May 22, 1900.

Le Soleil, Quebec, May 15, 1900.

The Chronicle, Quebec, April 6, 1900.

do do Aug. 4, do

Le Courrier du Canada, 15 May, 1900.

La Vérité, Quebec, 10 March, 1900.

- 144. Periodicals.—Royal Magazine (The). Monthly. Illustrated. Vol. 1. July to December, 1759. 8vo. London, 1759.
- 145. Periodicals.—Universal Magazine.—Oct. 1759. An account of the taking and capitulation of Quebec; from the "London Gazette Extraordinary" Wednesday, Oct. 17, 1759.... An abridgment of the Placart published by Wolfe on his arrival in the river St. Lawrence. 8 pages. 8vo.
- 146. Phillips, (R. Lee).—A List of Maps of America in the Library of Congress. Prefaced by a general bibliography of cartography. 8vo., eleven hundred and thirty seven pages. Washington Government Printing Office, 1901.

Mr. Phillips has prepared a work of the highest value to students of History, and henceforth research will be simplified, as the numerous works mentioned by the author cover a wide range of subjects.

147. Pontbriant (Henry-Marie Dubreil de) Bishop of Que-

bec.—Two mandements relative to the grave events taking place in Quebec during the year 1759. Each of these mandements is printed on a single sheet infolio of a dimension of 13 x 8½ inches.

It is said these were printed in Quebec although it has been generally believed that Brown & Gilmores press established in 1764 was the first—Full details concerning this question are given by Mr Phileas Gagnon in his *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*, pp 381, 382, 383, 384, 385.

- 148. Pouchot (M.) Mémoires sur la dernière Guerre de l'Amérique-Septentrionale entre la France et l'Angleterre: Yverdun, 1781, 3 vols. in-12.
- 149. Poulett, Earl, letter of.—

See Townshend papers.

150. Poulin de Luminan.—Histoire de la Guerre contre les Anglais : Genève, 1759. in-8.

Of little historical value.

151. Quebec Literary and Historical Society.—Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760. En trois parties; avec cartes et plans lithographiés. Publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. Thirteen plans 8vo vii, 207 pp. Quebec, Imprimerie de T. Cary & Cie., 1838.

The first part of the first series of documents printed separately by the Society.

Contains important biographical details on important personages of the time.

152. Quebec Literary & Historical Society'-Collection de

mémoires et de relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, d'après des manuscrits recemment obtenus des Archives et Bureaux Publics en France. Publiée sous la direction de la Société Historique de Québec. Quebec, Imprimerie de William Cowan & fils, 1840.

The second part of the first series of documents published by the Society. The volume contains:

Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada, [about 1667,] 7 pp.

Mémoire sur le Canada, [about 1736] 14 pp.

Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada [about 1758] 29 pp.

Histoire du Canada par M. l'Abbé de Belmont [about 1720] 36 pp.

- (1) Relation du Siège de Québec en 1759, par une religieuse 24 pp.
- (2) Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la campagne du Canada, en 1759, 8 pp.

Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada, [about 1760] 8 pp.

Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada, 29 pp.

These two documents are the only ones touching the subject of this bibliography.

153. Quebec Literary and Historical Society.—Historical documents published under the auspices of this Society. Second series, Quebec, 1868, 7 documents in one 8vo. vol.

The items referring to the Siege of Quebec in 1759 are as follows:

Col. Malcolm Fraser's Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1759, 37 pp.

Journal du Siège de Québec en 1759, par M. Jean Claude Panet, notaire. 24 pp.

A Dialogue in Hades. A Parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the Campaign of 1759 in Canada. Attributed to the Chevalier Johnston, A. D. C., to General Levis. 55 pp.

Each of these was also published separately.

Third Series, Quebec and Montreal 1871. 5 documents in one 8vo. vol.

Contains nothing relating to the Siege of 1759. It is cited here simply to avoid breaking the continuity of the description.

Fourth Series, [Quebec about 1875]. Four documents in one 8vo. vol.

Contains the following relating to the Siege of 1759.

A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence. 21 pp.

General Orders in Wolfe's Army during the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759. 56 pp.

Journal du Siège de Québec en 1759. Par Jean Claude Panet, N. P., témoin oculaire. 31 pp.

See Second Series.

## Fifth Series, Quebec, 1877. 152 pp. 8vo. Contains:

Mémoires du Sieur de Ramezay, commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le 18e. septembre 1759. D'après un manuscrit aux Archives du Bureau de la Marine à Paris—Campagne du Canada depuis le 1er juin jusqu'au 15 septembre 1759.—Lettre de M. Bernier, 19 septembre 1759.—Lettre de M. de Vaudreuil au Ministre, Québec le 21 septembre 1759.—Lettre de M. le Chevalier de Montreuil au Ministre, au camp de la Pointe-aux-Trembles, 22 7bre. 1759.—Lettre de M. Daine au Ministre, Québec, 9 octobre 1759.—Extraits d'un journal tenu à l'armée que commandait feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm, lieutenant-général, 13 octobre, 1759.—Lettre de M. Bigot au Ministre, Montréal, 25 octobre 1759.

- 154. Quebec Literary and Historical Society.—Transactions for 1900.—Lecture on the Plains of Abraham, by P. B. Casgrain, Esq.
- 155. Ramezay, Sieur de.

See Quebec Literary and Historical Society.

156. Relation de ce qui s'est passé au Siège de Québec, et de la prise du Canada; par une Religieuse de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec: adressé à une Communauté de Son Ordre en France.

24 pages, 16mo., unbound, with a very fine wood cut of a view of Quebec from Levis, engraved and published by Robert Weir, Glasgow.

Imprimerie du Bureau du Mercury, rue Buade (Québec) 1855.

This pamphlet is now very rare and was quoted in a recent London Catalogue at £1. 10. 0

The Reverend Sister who is the authoress of this account of the battle of the Plains states distinctly, on page 9, that the sisters could see the fight from the windows of the hospital.

Another edition of this book was printed in which neither the publisher's name nor the date appears. This edition does not contain the view of Quebec.

Rogers (Major Robert).—Journals of Major Robert Rogers: containing an account of the several excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the continent of North America, during the late war. From which may be collected the most material circumstances of every campaign upon that continent, from the commencement to the conclusion of the war, 8vo. London: printed for the author, 1765.

Catalogued by Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, at £6.

- 158. Sabine (Lorenzo). An address before the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society, in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, Tuesday, Sept. 13<sup>th</sup> 1859. The hundredth anniversary of the death of Major General James Wolfe. 8vo. 100 pp., Boston, 1859.
- 159. Saunders Charles.

See letters of, in Townshend Papers.

160. Saunders to Townshend.—Two letters.

See Townshend correspondence No. 8, 13.

161. Sayer (Robert).—The North American Pilot, &c. London, 1775, folio.

Faribault makes this note in his catalogue: "Cet Atlas d'Amérique, est divisé en trois parties. La 1re contient, toutes les Côtes Maritimes depuis Terre-Neuve jusqu'à la Floride. La 2me toutes les Colonies Anglaises, avec les plans de batailles, &c. des principales villes assiégées. La 3me les Isles Antilles dans leur plus grand détail.

162. Smith (Wm.)—History of Canada, from its First Discovery to the Peace of 1763, and from the Establishment of the Civil Government in 1764 to the Establishment of the Constitution in 1792. 2 vol. 8vo. Quebec, 1815.

A recent Catalogue of Conydon & Britnell, Toronto, quotes this work at \$50.

163. Smith (Mjr. Gen. Sir Jas. Carmichael).—Precis | of | the Wars in Canada | from 1755 | to the treaty of Ghent | in 1814 | with military and political reflec-

- tions | by Mjr. Gen. Sir James Carmichael Smith, Bart. | C.B. K.M.T. K.S.W. London, 1826. 185 pages.
- 164. Stadacona Depicta, or Quebec and its environs historically, panoramically, and locally exhibited. Illustrated with fine plates. 16mo., pp. vii—198. Quebec, Carey Bros. n. d. [1857].
- 165. Stobo (Maj. Robert).—Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo of the Virginia Regiment, with a plan of Fort Duquesne in 1764, made by the author, 16mo., 92 pp. Pittsburgh, 1854.

Concerning this man, Mr. Gagnon says Stobo was a prisoner of war at Quebec in 1755. He escaped about 1758, then returned to Quebec with Wolfe in 1759. Stobo pretends that he furnished to Wolfe the information which caused the success of 13 Sept. 1759, in indicating the place of debarcation above the city.

- 166. Siege.—A Short authentic account of the expedition against Quebec in the year 1759, under command of Major General James Wolfe by a Volunteer upon that expedition. 8vo. 48 pp. Quebec, 1872, with an explanatory preface by Wm. Jos Anderson.
- 167. Siège de Québec en 1759.—Copie d'après un manuscrit apporté de Londres par L'Honorable D. B. Viger, lors de son Retour en Canada. En Septembre 1834—Mai 1835. Copie d'un Manuscrit déposé à la Bibliothèque d'Hartwell en Angleterre. 41 pages, 8vo. unbound. Québec, Frechette et Cie, 8 rue la Montagne 1836.

On the reverse of the cover of this work, there is the following note copied from the original: "Presented to the Hartwell Library by W. H. Ap. III—13

Smith, R. N. This Ms. was given to Captain Smith by Capt. (now Commodore) Schomberg, the Son of Sir Alex. Schomberg, who wrote the notes in the margin."

Mr. Viger reproduces on page 3 of this pamphlet a letter to Dr Lee, of London, to whom the manuscript belonged, asking permission to copy it.

The Journal covers the period from the 1st. May to the 1oth. Sept. and contains very interesting details of the early days of the Siege. Pages 38 to 41 inclusive contain a translation of the memorial sent by Lieut. Jean Denis de Vitré to the Right Honble. Wm. Pitt regarding the Services of his father, a pilot of the English Fleet in the operations against Quebec. A note signed by J. Lee, evidently the Doctor Lee above referred to says that the original petition is in the hands of John Rose Esqr. No. 2 New Inn, 16 July 1831.

In 1876, the manuscripts which belonged to the late John Lee of Doctor's Commons, removed from Hartwell House, were catalogued and offered for sale. They were however withdrawn for eighteen years, and finally sold by Sotherby in 1894. An autograph ms. by Sir A. Schomberg, and a ms. by D. B. Viger, 1828, were included in the catalogue. The British museum purchased three manuscripts from the collection, but the Journal of the Siege was not one of them, and no trace has been found of the purchaser.

168. Siege.—The Authorship of a Journal of the Siege of Quebec in the year 1759. Folio, 12 pp. [Quebec, 1872]

Bitter criticism on "A short account of the Expedition against Quebec, commanded by Major General Wolfe, in the year 1759, by an Engineer upon that Expedition."

- 169. Silliman B.—Remarks on a Short Tour, between Hartford & Quebec in the autumn of 1819. Small 8vo., 407 pp. New Haven, 1820.
- 170. The life of General James Wolfe | The Conqueror of Canada: | or, The Eulogium, | of that Renowned

Hero, | attempted according to the | Rules of Eloquence | with a | Monumental Inscription, | Latin and English, | to perpetuate his Memory | by J\*\*\* P\*\*\*, A. M.

Arida pericula virtus, et quo tendat, non quid passura sit cogitat : quoniam et quod passura est gloriæ pars est.—Seneca.

8vo., unbound, 37 pp. London. Printed for G. Kearsly, successor to the late Mr. Robinson at the Golden-Lion, in Ludgate Street, MDCCLX [price one shilling].

Title, blank verso, Epistle Dedicatory, pp. 2 and 3. Life of Wolfe, pp. 4 to 31. Monumental Inscription, 32 to 37.

Contains a review of the public life of Wolfe but without historical details, and is only valuable as a curiosity. The author's attempts to follow "the Rules of Eloquence" do not appear to have been crowned with success.

The transcript made for this work is from the copy in the British Museum, the only one known.

171. Townsend (Jonathan).—Sorrow turned into Joy.—A sermon deliver'd at Medfield, October 25, 1759. Being a day of public acknowledgment of the smiles of Heaven upon the British Arms in America: more especially in the Reduction of Quebec. By Jonathan Townsend, A. M., Pastor of the Church in Medfield. 8vo. 22 pp. Boston: S. Kneeland, 1760.

See note under Cooper (Samuel).

- 172. Townshend Journal of, see under "Journals."
- 173. Townshend.—The Military Life of Field-Marshal George First Marquis Townshend, 1724-1807, who took part in the Battles of Dettingen 1743, Fontenoy

1745, Culloden 1746, Laffeldt 1747, and in the Capture of Quebec 1759, from family documents not hitherto published. By Lt.-Colonel C. V. F. Townshend, C. B., D. S. O., Royal Fusiliers, with plans and illustrations. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1901. 340 pp.

174. Townshend.—[Anonymous.] A letter to an Honourable Brigadier General, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Canada. 8vo. 31 pp. unbound. London 1860.

"Cette brochure à l'adresse de Lord George Townshend, qui remplaça Wolfe à Québec, le 13 sept. 1759, fut réimprimée par N. W. Simons du *British Museum*, en 1841, qui l'attribua alors à Junius. Charles Lee, officier dans l'armée anglaise, lors de son apparition, fut aussi désigné comme son auteur. Le Comte d'Albemarle se vit provoqué en duel par Townshend, pour avoir, disait-on, donné contenance à cette publication."—Philéas Gagnon in the *Essai*.

175. Townshend.—A Refutation of the letter to an Honorable Brigadier General Commander of His Majesty's Forces in Canada (q. v.) By an officer. 8vo. 52 pp. London, 1760.

This is believed to have been written either by Townshend himself or under his direction.

176. Townshend.—[Anonymous] Fugitive pieces of Just politics during the Administration of Lord Townshend. 8vo. 165 pp. London, J. Almon, 1772.

A severe criticism on General Townshend, which contains frequent references to his conduct at the Siege of Quebec, 1759.

177. Townshend Papers.—Historical Manuscripts Com-

mission, Eleventh Annual Report, Appendix, part IV. "The Manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend." large 8vo. London, 1887. 500 pages.

Several important manuscripts, which are at present in the possession of Colonel Townshend, are not included in this Report. See vol. v. of "The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham."

- 178. Townshend Papers (The).—From the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part IV.
- 1. Lieut.-General Sir Richard Lyttleton, K.B., to Brigadier General the Hon. Geo. Townshend. Dated in Cavendish Square, Dec. 21st, 1758.

Requesting Brigadier Townshend to come to town immediately: "highly important to you to lose no Time."

- 2. Lieut.-General Sir Richard Lyttleton, K. B., to Brigadier General the Hon. George Townshend. Dated in Cavendish Square, Dec. 28th, 1758.
- "Lord Legonier was yesterday in the Closet, your affair was mentioned and very graciously agreed to by His Majesty."
- 3. Rev. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. Dated at Great Snoring, March 14th, 1759.
- "P. S. I am told by those who have been in America, that 'tis very probable, as the winds have greatly favour'd, that Mr. Townshend by this time is in Sight of the Country, or not unlikely to be landed in it."
- 4. Brigadier Amherst to Brigadier Townshend. Dated at New York, April 24, 1759.
- "I am in great hopes that the Campaign may be attended with such success as will give me an opportunity of meeting you."
- 5. Colonel the Hon. Roger Townshend to Lady Ferrers. "Camp at Fort Edward, June 7th, 1759.
  - " It is with the greatest pleasure that I can inform you I received a

Letter from George a few days ago dated at Hallifax, May the 1st, the whole fleet was arrived safe and he was in perfect health."

- "My opinion of Genl. Amherst as an honest good Man, and my attachment to him as a soldier, I thought wou'd never allow me to wish that I might serve under any other person in America."
- 6. Dispositions générales pour s'opposer à la descente depuis La Rivière St. Charles jusqu'au Sault de Montmorency.

Sig. Chev. de Levis, June 10th, 1759.

- 7. Rev. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. Great Snoring, July 11th, 1759.
- ...." I desired him to accept from me as the best Present I or any one else could make him, weh. was a Noble collection of devotions suited to all occasions."
  - 8. Admiral Sir Charles Saunders to Brigadier Townshend.
    - "Stirling Castle, July 20th, 1759.
  - "The General designs to make his attack above the town."
  - 9. Charles Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Sept., 1759.
- "I have the satisfaction to assure your Ladyship that a ship has arrived from Quebec, dated as far as the 13th July, in which we learn that the navigation of the River was found very good; that Mr. Wolf had taken a safe camp in the South Side of the River St. Laurent, &c."
  - 10. Lieut. John Huske to Lady Ferrers. Sept. 3rd, 1759, Fryday noon.
- "I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that Genl. Townshend was in fine health at the Siege of Quebec on the 5th of July, the day it commenced.
- "Tyconderogo and Crown Point are taken by Genl, Amherst. General Prideaux being killed during the Siege."
  - 11. Brigadier Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Camp Levi, Sept. 6, 1759.
- ...." General Wolf's health is bad. His Generalship in my poor opinion—is not a bit better."
  - 12. Revd Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. Great Snoring, Sept. 10, 1759.

- "Yr Ladysps Letter says, that the Troops with yr husband landed nigh Quebec the 5th July last."
- 13. Admiral Saunders to Brigadier Townshend. Stirling Castle, Sept. 13, 1759.
- "The loss of our friend General Wolfe gives me the greatest concern, which is in some measure taken off by the great Victory of to-day."
  - 14. Lady Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Sep. 13, 1759.
- "I trust in God that he will preserve the most dear thing to us in life."
  - 15. Lord Townshend to Rev. Robert Leeke. Sep. 15, 1759.
- "I received the favour of yours by our last Post which informs me of Ly Ferrers' kind enquiry—through you, after my health under the great affliction which I now labour under from the severe calamity lately befallen me."
  - 16. Hon Charles Townshend to Lady Ferrers Sep 15. 1759.
- ...I shall watch every opportunity of informing your Ladyship of whatever account we receive that can help to alleviate your fears and support your mind.
  - 17. Brigadier General Monckton to General Townshend.

#### Camp at Point Levi Sep. 16th. 1759.

- "I have look'd over such of the Genls. papers as related to the Publick and can find none that can be of any Service to you. As to the Plan of Quebec, it is not amongst his papers."
  - 18. Lady Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Sep. 17, 1759.
- "No situation of mind or health can ever prevent me from thinking and being anxious for you and your Dear Children."
  - 19. Hon. Chas. Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Sept. 17, 1759.
- "As yet the Government have received no further accounts from North America."

- 20. Hon. Charles Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Sep. 18th, 1759.
- "A ship arrived yesterday from Boston, but, having touched at other posts in the voyage, it brings nothing new."
  - 21. Lord Northampton to Lady Ferrers. Sep. 19th, 1759.

Letter relating to family affairs.

- 22. Hon. Chas. Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Sep. 19th, 1759.
- "As you may possibly read in the Prints that two ships are arrived in the River from New York, and might be alarmed for that reason if you did not hear from us, I beg leave to assure you that both the American ships sailed from New York many days after the last Packet Boat came away."
  - 23. Countess of Cornwallis to Lady Ferrers. Brome, Sep. 19th, 1759. Referring to death of Hon, Roger Townshend.
  - 24. General Townshend to Lady Ferrers.

Camp before Quebec, Sep. 20, 1759.

- "We have gained a Great Day, the particulars you will read in the publick Gazette. Tho' I was not in the warmest part of the action, yet I had more shotts near me than in any other action I've seen."
  - " Men are as mean here as in any other profession."
  - 25. Rev. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. Sept. 22nd, 1759.

Referring to death of Hon. Roger Townshend and to Siege of Quebec.

26. General Townshend to—Dated Camp before Quebec Sep. 25th 1759.

An account of the battle. An interesting letter.

- 27. General Townshend to General Amherst Camp before Quebec Sep. 26, 1759.
  - " A draft sent ye 17th."
- "Victory or no quarter was I may safely affirm in every man's face that Day."

- "P.S.—There were two field pieces, and not only one up in the action."
  - 28. Lady Townshend to Lady Ferrers Sept 29th 1759.
- "The North East Wind continues and is directly contrary for having any news from Quebec when it changes I sometimes think of seting out for Portsmouth; here I shall not remain."
  - 29. Lady Townshend to Lady Ferrers Oct. 2, 1759.
- "Every body agrees that the first time the Wind changes from the North East we must hear from Mr. Townshend."
  - 30. Brigadier General Murray to General Townshend. Oct. 5th 1759.
- "I shall look for the letter you mention take a copy of it, and deposite the original with you. Since so black a lye was propigated I think myself very happy that you will be on the spot to contradict whatever Ignorance, or Faction may suggest. .... We are acting on the defensive, you have the execution of the plan, and I am well persuaded you will manage it with as much tenderness to the memory of the poor Genl. as the nature of things will admit of."
  - 31. Rev. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers Oct. 6 1759.
  - " No news, therefore is good news."
  - 32. Brigadier Murray to General Townshend. Quebec, Oct. 20, 1759.
  - "I never doubted of your doing justice to all men."
  - 33. Rev. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. Great Snoring, Oct. 30 1759.

A long letter referring to the Siege and to Townshend's part in the Victory.

- 34. Lord Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Oct 1759.
- "Lord Townshend rejoices heartily upon the happy news Ld Ferrers has been so kind to send to him this morning of the Surrender of Quebec and that Mr Townshend is safe as well."
  - 35. Rev. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. 1st December 1759.

- ' I heartily bless God that I have it in my power to wish you joy of this most glorious event."
  - 36. The Countess of Cornwallis to Lady Ferrers. Dec. 2nd 1759.
- "I am infinitely obliged to you for your early notice of Mr. Townshend's safe arrival."
  - 37. Thomas Beevor to General Townshend. Dec. 4th 1759.
- "I sincerely congratulate you on the happy success of an Expedition, which had been by all accounts impracticable, but for the uncommon bravery, and vast superiority of abilities in the Commanders of it:"
  - 38. Miles Branthwayt to General Townshend. Dec. 7, 1759.
- "We are all very impatient to congratulate you upon your great success in conquering Quebec.

Lord Shaftesbury to General Townshend. Dec. 8th 1759.

Lord Shaftesbury intended before this to have paid his compliment by letter.

39. W. Clarke Woodbine to General Townshend. Dec. 8, 1759.

Refering to a commission.

- 40. Earl Poulett, to General Townshend. Dec. 8th, 1759.
- "I am glad at the same time of an opportunity of congratulating you on your safe return, and with so much glory and success."
  - 41. John Harder to General Townshend. Dec. 10th, 1759.

Referring to safe return.

42. Nockold Thompson to Gen. Townshend. Dec. 13, 1759.

Among the first the citizens of Norwich in their public address exulted in the relation this country stood in, to him who added Quebec to his Majesty's Dominions.

- 43. Rev. O. T. Young to General Townshend. Dec. 15th, 1759.
- "Every body here, & all over the Country mention you with the

most warm & grateful attachment & pay all possible veneration to your character."

- 44. Lady Townshend to Lady Ferrers. N. D.
- "I trust in God we shall soon be in a much happier situation by receiving the good News we most ardently wish for."
- 45. Copies of papers that were wrote by General Wolfe to the Brigadiers, before the operations above the Town of Quebec in 1759—Aug. 28 to Sep 12.
- 46. A Ms. book in cardboard cover endorsed "Orders of General Wolfe."
- 47. General Orders issued to the troops before Quebec 26th. June to Oct. 10 1759. Ms 108 pages stitched.
- 48. Sep 13th. 1759. Return of the killed and wounded at the Battle of Quebec.
- 49. Rough notes relating to the Siege of Quebec between 28th. July & Sep. 13, 1759, 5 pp. foolscap.
- 179. Townshend Charles,

See letters of in Townshend papers.

180. Townshend, Lord.—Letter of.

See Townshend papers.

181. Ursulines (Les) de Québec depuis leur Établissement jusqu'à nos jours. 4 vols 8vo. Québec, 1864-66.

M. Philéas Gagnon says this is the work of Mother St. Thomas, one of the religious of the Monastery, in collaboration with Abbé George LeMoine, for 20 years chaplain of the Institution.

Contains many references to the Siege of Quebec.

182. Vaudreuil, Marquis de.—Letter 21 Sept. 1759.

See Quebec Literary & Historical Society.

183. Vaudreuil, Marquis de.

See letters nos 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 19, 21, 22, Cadet correspondence.

184. Vaudreuil, Marquis de.

See letter of, in Townshend papers.

185. Walpole (Robert).—Memoirs of the reign of King George III.

An attack on Townshend—in answer to the Refutation of a letter which see under Townshend.

- 186. Warburton (Major George D., R. A.)—The Conquest of Canada, by the author of "Hochelaga." 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1850.
- 187. Weld (Isaac, Junior). Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797, with large colored folding map of the United States, maps of Upper and Lower Canada and the Falls of Niagara, plans of Washington and Quebec, and 11 full page copper plate views from drawings by the author. 4to. London, 1799.

Reference to the Model of Quebec now in Woolwich Arsenal.

188. Wolfe, (Major Gen. James)—References to General Wolfe and the Siege of Quebec, in "Notes and Queries."

During the last half century, many details concerning General Wolfe have been published in *Notes and Queries*. Most of the items are of great value to the student, and to facilitate the work of reference, an index to the volumes has been prepared. We are indebted to Mr. John C. Francis, the proprietor of *Notes & Queries* for this compilation.

## 1st Series.—Biographical notices.

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Vol. IV. pp. 271, 322, 393, 409, 438, 489, 503;
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- " V. 34, 98, 136, 163, 185, 213, 279, 298, 398, 590;
- " VI. 245, 352;
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- " X. 326;
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Wolfe's Gloves, Vol. X. 326; last survivor of his army Vol. VIII., 6 manuscripts, Vol. IX., 468; portraits, Vol. IV. 271, 489;

Ship which conveyed him to Quebec, Vol. VIII., 54.

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5th Series.

Wolfe (Gen. James), his grandfather, Vol. VII. 88, 116, 158. 258.

6th Series.

Wolfe (Gen. James), his family, Vol. VI. 536; West's picture of his death, Vol. IX. 9.

7th Series.

Wolfe (Gen. James), his pedigree, Vol. I. 288, 372; his death, Vol. V. 126, 357.

8th Series.

Wolfe (Gen. James), his sword, Vol. VI. 187, 231, 376; his grand-father, Vol. VII., 221; and Clive, Vol. VIII. 228; song on his death, 249; picture by Romney, Vol. XII. 127; his death, 363.

189. Wolfe.—General Orders from June 26 to Oct. 10, 1759.

See Townshend Correspondence.

190. Wolfe to Brigadiers, Aug. 28 to Sept. 12, 1759. See Townshend Correspondence.

191. Wolfe.—Items from London News Papers concerning Wolfe 1758-1759-1760.

From a collection made by Mr. John Horn of Montreal.

I. It is rumoured that a sudden blow will soon be given to the Enemy that will astonish Europe.... Col. Amherst will have the command by Land, and Col. Wolfe will serve under him.—London Chronicle, Jany, 12, 1758.

- 2. Tuesday died at his house on Blackheath, Edmond Wolfe, Esq. London, 26th March, 1759.
- 3. By a letter from Quebec we are informed that by the polite behaviour of the Governor, and the strict discipline of the Garrison, a perfect harmony existed between them and the inhabitants. London 1759.
- 4. Protest by Wolfe against scalping addressed to M. Vaudreuil. The general's answer. London 1759.
- 5. The brave General Wolfe's death tho' most unfortunate for his country, was, with respect to himself, not more glorious as to the manner, than happy as to the time of it. London Nov. 10 1759.
- 6. We hear that a subscription is carrying on for the erecting of a monument. London 1759.
- 7. His Majesty has been pleased to order a present of Sir James Douglas and Col. Hale who brought the account of the taking of Quebec. London Oct 27 1759.
- 8. Thursday the 29th of Nov. is appointed for a General Thankgiving for the late success of his Majesty's arms. London Oct. 1759.
- 9. Portsmouth. Saturday morning at seven o'clock His Majesty's Ship Royal William fired two guns for the removal of the remains of the ever to be lamented General Wolfe.

Description of the funeral procession. Nov. 18, 1759.

- 10. Referring to daily tributes paid to memory of Wolfe. Recommending a subscription. London 1759.
  - 11. Rumour of universal mourning for Wolfe. London Nov. 30 1759.

Announcement of publication of Life of Wolfe By J. \*\*\* P. \*\*\* A. M. London December 1759.

- 12. Announcement of publication of a Letter to a Right Hon. Patriot upon the glorious success at Quebec. London 1759.
- 13. General Wolfe is said to have been much admired for his elegant style of dancing. London 1760.

14. Announcement of publication of A Discourse delivered at Quebec. Sept. 27th, 1759, by Rev. Eli Dawson, London 1760.

# 192. Wolfe.—Lines and Epitaphs on General Wolfe, &c.

From a collection made by Mr. John Horn of Montreal, who kindly sent copies for this work.

The title, the first line and the date are here given:

- 1. Lines to Wolfe's memory, by one of his friends.
- "Underneath a hero lies." London, Oct. 20, 1759.
- 2. "To the highest military merit undoubtedly belongs the highest applause."
  - "Who formed the 20th of foot, &c., &c.

London, 1759.

- 3. To the memory of the late General Wolfe, with whom I had the honour of being acquainted.
  - "Amidst his conquests let Britannia groan."—Glasgow, Oct. 7, 1759.
  - 4. Ode-Dulce et decorem est pro Patria mori.
  - "From envy, and from chance removed."

Grinstead Green, in Essex. Oct. 27, 1759.

- 5. To Mrs. Wolfe.
- "Forbear with unrelenting sighs."

London, 1759.

- 6. Epitaph for General Wolfe.
- "Wolfe, the virtuous and the brave."

Oxford, Jany. 5th, 1750.

7. "The immortal name of Wolfe let Quebec tell!"

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- 8. Epitaph for General Wolfe.
- "Who like brave Wolfe, immortal fame would buy."

London 1772.

- 9. Epitaph for General Wolfe.
- "Here rests the immortal Wolfe! whose glorious name."

London, Nov. 1772.

- 10. Epitaph for General Wolfe.
- "If Warlike deeds a monument of fame."

Oct. 4, 1772.

- 11. Epitaph for General Wolfe.
- "Accept immortal Wolfe! much honour'd shade."

London, Nov. 14, 1772.

- 13. Epitaph on the Immortal Wolfe.
- "Great Conqu'ror of Quebec, most brave, most Dear."-1772.
- 14. To the Printer of the London Chronicle—giving a translation of a prologue delivered in Latin in Westminster college about the time of General Wolfe's dealth.
  - "If generous thirst of fame, if martial worth. Oct 22. 1772.
- 15. For the monument of General Wolfe. "Blest with each virtue, that adorns the soul."

St Anstle 1772.

- 16. Epitaph for General Wolfe.
- " Here rests general Wolfe beneath this marble urn."

London December 1772.

17. Epitaph for General Wolfe. "Briton (if such thou really art) draw near."

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London Nov 28. 1772.

- 18. To the memory of Major General Wolfe, who was killed at Quebec, Sept. 19, 1759.
  - "Stranger, approach who'eer thou art with awe, August 31, 1772.
  - 19. Epitaph on General Wolfe.
  - "This stone, inscribed with Wolfe's immortal name."

1772?

- 20. Epitaph on General Wolfe.
- "A monument to Wolfe! O vain essay!"

London 1772.

- 21. Elegy on the death of General Wolfe, from the naval Review, a poem by the Rev. Robert English.
  - " Lamented Wolfe! pride of the latest war."
- 193. Wolfe.

See Sabine (Lorenzo).

194. Wolfe.

See The Life of General James Wolfe.

195. Wolfe.

See Wright (Robert).

196. Wolfe.—Physical infirmity of

See under periodicals, European Magazine.

197. Wolfe to Col. Burton.

See under periodicals, European Magazine.

198. Wright (Robert).—The life of Major General James

Wolfe, founded on original documents and illustrated by his correspondence, including numerous unpublished letters contributed from the family papers of noblemen and gentlemen, descendants of his companions. With Portrait of Gen. Wolfe 8vo. xxxi—626 pp. London 1864.



#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

# THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

#### PART II

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- Abercrombie (James) à Bougainville.—Two letters.
   See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 48 and 135.
- 2. Amherst (General Lord.)

See under Cheltenham Collection.

3. Amherst, Jeff.

See No. 9 of the Galway papers.

4. Amherst to Brig. Lawrence, New York, March 20. 1759.

Re augmenting the number of troops for expedition, which Gen. Amherst considers too small.

From the original in the Public Record office, A. & W. I. vol. 89.

5. Amherst to Brig. Genl. Lawrence. New York, March 29, 1759.

Number of troops ordered for expedition against Quebec. From the original in the Public Record Office. A. & W. I. Vol. 89.

## 6. Amherst (?) to Montcalm (unsigned) (French).

Du camp sous Fort Edouard, ce 17 juin 1759. Endorsed. To the Marquis de Montcalm, Camp Edward, June 17, 1759, in answer to his of 24th. May, and enclosing the order against scalping women and children. Enclosed in a letter of Amherst to Pitt, June 17th. 1759. No. 100. From the copy in the Public Record Office, London, A. W. I. Vol. 90.

## 7. Amherst.—Jeff. to Pitt.

(Extract), Camp of Crown Point, Oct. 22, 1759. Written in the form of a journal from the 7th. of August to the 22nd. of Oct. 1759, with 103 enclosures. Mss. of about 650 words.

Extracts from 7th., 8th., 16th. and 30th of Aug. 7th., 10th., 11th., 25th of Sept., and 9th of October. Contain many valuable details.

From the original in the Public Record Office London. A, & W. I. Vol. 91.

- 8. Amherst to Townshend, April 24, 1759. See Townshend correspondence nor 4.
- Amherst to Whitmore.—New York 16 March, 1759.
   Extract 100 words. Concerning the King's instructions.
   From the original in the Public Record Office A. & W. I. vol. 82.
- 10. Amherst to Whitmore.—New York, April 5, 1759.

  Extract re appointement of Brigade major on the Expedition.

  From the original in the Public Record Office, A. & W. I. vol. 89.
- Amherst to Col. Williamson.—New York, April 5<sup>th</sup>
   1759.

Extract Complementing Col. Williamson.

From the original in the Public Record Office, A. & W. I. vol. 89.

#### 12. Amherst Jeff.—to Wolfe. Albany May 21st. 1759.

Mss about 700 words. Endorsed in answer to Mr Wolfe's of the 1st acquainting him with the application he had made for the 300 pioneers his hopes and Warmest wishes that it might take place, and informing him of the proposed diversion to the westward. Enclosed in a letter to Pitt June 19 1759. Enclosure No. 81.

From the Original in Public Record office London A. & W. I. vol. 90.

# 13. Amherst Major Genl. Jeff.—to Wolfe Camp of Crown Point 7 Aug 1759.

Mss about 520 words. Reporting the Surrender of Niagara. "You may depend upon my doing all I can for effectually reducing Canada. Now is the time." Enclosed in Amherst's letter to Pitt Oct 22 1759 No 18.

From the copy in the Public Record office, London A & W. I. vol. 91.

## 14. Amherst to Wolfe.—August 15th 1759.

Amherst's instructions to Wolfe re quitting the Service.

From the original in the Public Record Office, A. & W. I. Vol. 79.

#### 15. Amherst.—Jeff. to General Wolfe.

Camp at Crown Point, Aug. 24, 1759, mss about 400 words.

Endorsed: Further intelligence of his situation, of Mr. Montcalm's letter of 30 July. Enclosed in a letter of Amherst to Pitt, Oct. 22, 1759, No. 19.

From the copy in the Public Record Office London, A. & W. I., Vol 91.

#### 16. Barré Isaac.

See Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 12, 13, 14, of the Galway papers.

# 17. Belcour (Thisbe de) à Bougainville. Five letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 31, 32, 41, 49, 70.

18. Bellecombe à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 44.

19. Belleisle (Duc de).

See under Cheltenham Collection.

20. Bernetz à Bougainville. Two letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 102, 150.

21. Bigot (François).

See under Cheltenham Collection.

22. Bigot à Bougainville. Ten letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 40, 50, 56, 57, 67, 85, 124, 125, 127, 133.

23. Bigot à Montcalm.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 66.

24. Bigot à Mme la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu. Quebec, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1759.

Mss about 75 words. From the original in the Hotel-Dieu Quebec.

25. Bigot à Mme la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu. Quebec, 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1759.

Mss about 150 words. Cant give provisions. From the original in the Hotel-Dieu, Quebec.

26. Bougainville (de).

See under Cheltenham Collection.

27. Bougainville, Journal of.—Manuscript in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville.

For the following particulars regarding this important manuscript we are indebted to M. R. de Kerallain, of Quimper, France.

Le Journal de Bougainville est tout entier de sa main, sauf du 12 au 26 mars et le 24 avril 1757.

Le Journal en question, pareil à celui de Montcalm, comme genre et comme dimensions couvrirait 400 ou 450 pages du volume consacré à Montcalm. Voici approximativement comment il se répartit:

- 1° Du 12 mai 1756 à la fin de cette même année, Bougainville écrit à sa façon, ce qu'il voit, ses deux journaux différents.
- 2° Du 1er janvier au 12 mars 1757, ils se suivent parallèlement et racontent les mêmes choses avec un peu plus ou moins de détails, en termes plus ou moins différents, comme si l'un d'eux avait l'autre sous les yeux et le traduisait à sa manière.
- 3° Du 12 au 26 mars et le 24 avril, les journaux sont copiés l'un sur l'autre; l'écriture est d'un copiste. Quel est celui qui a dicté le texte original? Je ne le sais pas. Je crois que c'est Montcalm, bien que certaines expressions semblent de Bougainville. A noter que, du 20 au 26 mars, Bougainville rature et corrige le texte du copiste; mais les surcharges ne passent point dans le journal de Montcalm. Après quoi les journaux reprennent leur marche parallèle, Bougainville écrivant toujours de sa main.
- 4° Du 12 juillet au 8 août. Ici, Bougainville est l'auteur. Son journal devient un petit cahier de poche pour porter en campagne. C'est lui qui rédige, corrige, rature, et le copiste de Montcalm reproduit tel qu'il est le texte corrigé, sans même prendre la peine de changer les personnes des verbes et de rappeler que c'est Bougainville qui se met lui-même en scène, comme à propos de la capitulation du fort Georges.
- 5° Jusqu'à la fin d'août, le journal redevient tout distinct, comme en 1756.
  - 6° Du 1er septembre 1757 au 21 juin 1758, marche parallèle.
- 7° Du 22 juin au 14 octobre 1758, Bougainville redevient l'auteur du journal. Mais le scribe de Montcalm change les personnes des verbes, comme si Montcalm dictait.

8° Le journal s'arrête à la rentrée en France.

Je crois que la fin du journal de Montcalm, après sa mort, est de Montbeillard.

En résumé, Bougainville est parti de France en 1756, sans avoir l'idée de faire un journal. Il s'est mis à noter quelques dates en débarquant; puis peu à peu, s'est mis à écrire son journal à l'imitation de son chef, mais son journal à lui. L'hiver venu, et les gens d'alors n'aimant pas à raconter leurs petites histoires personnelles, Bougainville a dû se relâcher de son zèle et il n'aura probablement tenu son journal au courant qu'en relisant parfois celui de Montcalm, et même en en faisant copier quelques pages. Mais, en temps de campagne, Montcalm n'ayant plus le loisir d'écrire ni de dicter, c'est Bougainville qui devient l'auteur, l'historiographe de l'état-major. Il écrit, rédige, rature, critique, incrimine.... Montcalm se borne à faire copier.

For fac-simile of page of this Journal, see under Journal of Montcalm.

### 28. Bougainville.—Correspondance de.

The various letters printed under this title in the fourth volume of "The Siege of Quebec" have not hitherto been published. They form a part of a valuable collection of manuscripts in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville.

An official copy of the Correspondance was obtained from the Dominion Archives at Ottawa and duly printed, after having been carefully compared with the copies by Monseigneur Laflamme, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Laval University. Monsieur R. de Kerallain of Quimper, France, very kindly offered to compare the printed sheets with the originals which are in his possession. So many errors exist in the copy received from Ottawa, and many phrases are omitted, that it was found necessary to reprint them. The official copies in Ottawa cannot therefore be considered reliable.

No. 1. Montcalm à Bougainville—Camp de Beauport le 11 juillet 1759, Ms. about 50 words.

Appointment, giving Bougainville command—" depuis la Ravin de Beauport jusqu'à Québec ".

- No. 2. Montcalm à Bougainville, v. d., Ms. about 100 words.
- "Ainsi c'est a vous à y pourvoir sur le champ et pour le mieux après avoir pris l'Ordre du Mis. de Vaudreuil, et à ne m'informer que des objets importans."
- No. 3. Montcalm à Bougainville, 14 juillet 1759. Ms. about 450 words.
- "....les ennemis sont toujours occupés du projet de tenter le passage du Sault.....
- "J'ay profité hier soir sagement de ses avis pour la conciliation, pacification, insuffisance et sobriété des chefs de la ville."
- No. 4. Montcalm à Bougainville, "ce 14 juillet" [1759] Ms. about 100 words.
- "Comme la Colonie a fort peu d'offrs. mon cher Bougainville voyés avec M. Dumas si vous ne feriés pas bien de mettre un Capne, de nos troupes à la tête du pont et laisser le poste de la Canardière a un officier de la Colonie."
- No. 5. Montcalm à Bougainville, [15 juillet 1759] Ms. about 250 words.
- " Je suis persuadé que Wolfs sagement ne nous attaquera ni ne se compromettra pas et attendra l'evenement des pays d'En haut et je compte le Canada pris en entier cette Campagne."
  - No. 6. Montcalm a Bougainville, Ms. about 75 words.

Concerning Fortifications.

No. 7. Interrogation of Prisoners Charles Bœls.—Braide, and George Stele of the 4th. Battalion Royal Americans, captured at Chouëgouen. Ms. about 800 words.

A most interesting document. Some of the Prisoners' answers are decidedly peculiar.

No. 8. Montcalm à Bougainville, ce 20 juillet à midi ½ 1759. Ms. about 800 words.

Reporting the disposition of the Regulars Canadians, & Indians. "—l'objet de Wolfe n'est que de nous donner de l'inquiétude pour notre droite et notre gauche à fin de nous déposter et fondre sur la partie de Beauport à la rivière St.-Charles, ainsi ne prenons pas le change en garnissant trôp les hauteurs de Samos."

No. 9. Montcalm à Bougainville [20 Juillet 1759.] Ms. about 380 words.

"Nous sommes plus mal retranchés puisque malheureusement nous tenons 3 lieues. Les troupes de l'ennemy meilleure pour pareille attaque, et vous les voyes bien flairer la médecine."

No. 10. Montcalm à Bougainville, 25 Juillet [1759]. Ms. about 275 words.

No. 11. Montcalm à Bougainville. "Ce 27 au soir" [Juillet 1759]. Ms. 30 words.

Orders for a particular duty.

No. 12. de Montreuil à Bougainville. "A une heure vingt minutes" [31 Juillet 1759]. Ms. 100 words.

Regarding the bombardment.

No. 13. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 9 Aout 1759. Ms. about 80 words.

Sending a letter just received from Montcalm regarding the disposition of the forces.

No. 14. Vaudreuil à Bougainville [5 ou 6 Aout 1759?] Ms. about 75 words.

"Vous avez cy joint la lettre que je recois de M. de Ramesay je compte fort que votre troupe est prete à Marcher."

No. 15. La Rochebeaucour à Bougainville, Aux Ecureuils le 8 Aonst 1759 a 6 heures et demis. Ms. about 180 words.

Concerning the post at Pointe aux Tremhles etc.

No. 16. Moncalm à Bougainville." Ce 8 Aoust au Matin. Ms. about 225 words.

"Tout est tranquille ici."

No. 17. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Du Quartier Général le 8 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 150 words.

Concerning supplies for the army.

No. 18. DeBlau à Bougainville. A Jacque Cartié ce 8 a 9 heures [Août 1759]. Ms. about 150 words.

Is sending physicians as requested.

No. 19. Montcalm à Bougainville. Ce 8 à 3 heures après midi, [août 1759]. Ms. about 100 words.

"Votre séjour dépendra du tems que restéront là les batimens et de la manœuvre qu'ils feront."

No. 20. Hertel de Courouyer à Bougainville. "A St. Antoinne le 8 Aoust 8 h. ½ du soire 1759." Ms. about 250 words.

"Je ne say trop quel parti prendre pour des vivres pour mon detachement. Tout le monde dicy est dans le bois. J'attent vos ordres, pour mi conformer."

No. 21. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, Ce 9 a 4 heures du matin [août 1759] Ms. about 300 words.

General topics and orders—" Les Anglois ne font aucun mouvement ici, mais ils continuent à incendier Quebec et la basse ville est toute en feu."

No. 22. Vaudreuil a Bougainville, 9 Aoust [1759] Ms. about 200 words.

Congratulates the Col. on his success against a party of the enemy—Sends an issue of ammunition.

No. 23. De Montreuil à Bougainville. Ce 9 au Matin [1759], Ms about 100 words.

Informs him of the sending of ammunition.

No. 24. Marcel à Bougainville. Ce 9 à 4½ heures [Aout 1759] Ms. about 100 words.

Concerning forage for the horses.

No. 25. Cadet à Bougainville. Au camp de Beauport le 9 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 150 words.

"J'étois bien persuadé que si l'anglois tomboit sous votre main qu'il seroit battu."

He sends "eau de vie" and bread for the soldiers.

No. 26. DeBlau à Bougainville, ce 9 à 7he [Aout 1759]. Ms. about 200 words.

" Je suis glouton de poudre et de balles et fais porter sur le champ charrette et escorte pour ce convoye."

No. 27. Hertel de Conrouyer à de Blau, n. d. Ms. about 100 words.

Capture of 3 Deserters.

No. 28. DeBlau à Bougainville. Au Platon 9 Aoust 1759, 1 heure ½.

Forwarding information concerning three English prisoners captured.

No. 29. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Du quartier general ce 6 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 220 words.

Concerning the transport of provisions.

No. 30. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Du Quartier Général. Ce 10 Aout 1759. Ms. about 300 words.

"Je donne ordre à M. de Beaubassin d'envoyer dans l'instant chercher à l'ance au foulon les trois canots de huit place et les quatre ou cinq petits canots, et de vous les faire passer de postes en postes." Other details regarding supplies.

No. 31. Thisbe de Belcour à Bougainville. Au dessus de la pointe de la France, ce 10 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 300 words.

Gives report of his observation of British movements.

No. 32. Thisbé de Belcour à Bougainville. Au dessus de la Pointe à la France ce 10 Aout 1759. Ms. about 100 words.

Further details of British movements.

No. 33. De Blau à Bougainville. A Jacque Cartier ce 10 Aoust 1759.

"Il arrive dans le momment, \*\*\* un habitant \*\*\* pour m'avertir que les Anglois ont faits a leurs bords une descente d'environ 20 berges, plaines autant quelles pouvoient estre de monde."

No. 34. Hertel de Cournoyer à Bougainville. "A la Pte au Boulau le 10 Aoust a midy ½ 1759." Ms. about 275 words.

Concerning an early morning skirmish near Pte au Boulau—Nearly the whole French detachment taken prisoners.

No. 35. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Du Quartier Général le 11 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 550 words.

The English becoming numerous on the South Shore the writer presents a plan for an offensive movement against them—An interesting letter.

No. 36. de Montreuil à Bougainville. Ce 11 Août 1759. Ms. about 650 words.

Detailed orders for the attack on the English.

No. 37. Montcalm à Bougainville, 12 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 100 words.

"Hier j'ay fait la 2e edition de la fusillade du 26 Juillet. Il en a couté aux ennemis 100 à 120 h. tues ou blessés et à nous un tué et un blessé légèrement."

No. 38. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, 12 Aoust [1759]. Ms. about 35 words.

"Je vois par la position que prennent les Anglois que dessein est de se maintenir jusqu'au dénouement de la Compagnie."

No. 39. DeBleau à Bougainville. "A Jacques Cartier ce 13 Aoust 1759." Ms. about 300 words.

Difficulties with the Indians.

No. 40. Bigot à Bougainville, 13 août [1759]. Ms. about 275 words.

"Vous recevrés canots et batteaux et 600 paires de souliers. Je

ménage tant que je peux la chaussure, nous en consommerons 80 mil paires à québec pendant la campagne \*\*\* Je vous souhaitte une parfaite santé. Il faut en avoir pour la guerre de ce pays ci. Je suis bien convaincu que vous ferés de votre mieux pour que ces Messieurs ne brûlent pas tranquillement le côté du sud dans vos quartiers."

No. 41. Thisbe de Belcourt à Bougainville. "Aux Ecureuils à 9 h du soir le 13e aout 1759." Ms. about 450 words.

Supplies wanted for a detachment of Canadians "ils m'ont representé aussy que lorsque M. Dumas les commandoit les leur fessoit donner de l'eau de vie, tous les matins et qu'ils espèrent que vous en ferez autant."

No. 42. Malartic à Bougainville. Du Camp de Beauport le 13 Aout 1759. Ms. about 175 words.

Ask permission to use Bougainville's house until his return to Beauport—

"C'est affaire a vous de battre les ennemis deux fois le meme jour toute l'armée l'a appris avec grand plaisir et moi particulierement."

No. 43. DeBleau à Bougainville. "A Jacque Cartier ce 14 a 8 hre." [1759] Ms. about 100 words.

Indians arrive with four scalps and and three prisoners.

No. 44. Bellecombe à Bougainville. Au Camp ce 14e Aout 1759 Ms. about 175 words.

Has sent to Deschambault to find "quelques equipages".

"Nous avons apris ici avec plaisir que vous aviés bataillé et repoussé les ennemis pendant deux fois dans la journée, ça n'est pas mal pour un commencement—"

No. 45. Marcel à Bougainville. Ce 14 au Matin. Ms. about 50 words.

"On assemble actuellement 200 bon Montrealistes pour vous aller joindre."

No. 46. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, 15 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 500 words.

General topics—English prisoners—Farm burning by the Ennemy—the condition of the habitans—provisions etc.

No. 47. DeBlau à Bougainville. A Jacques Cartier ce 15 Aoust 1759, Ms. about 500 words.

"Je me plains que tout mon monde s'en va sans congé; hier aprez mon detachement de 80 hommes tirez, il devoit de compte fait me rester 141 hommes, et je ne pus jamais trouver que 24 hes. pour en relever 48".

No. 48. Abercrombie (James) à Bougainville. La Pointe le 15e d'août 1759. Ms. about 275 words.

The amenities of war. The letter is a curiosity and exceptionally interesting. "J'entendoit que vous etiez revenus dans ce maudite pays, je vous felicite sur votre avancement et l'honneur du Croix de St Louis—vous scavoit sans doute la perte de Niagara—prisoniers.... conduits à la Nouvelle York. Pour les paniers de champagne je viendra le boire à Montreal ou Quebeck,.... il faut que vous m'introduissent à quelque jolie Brunette Canadiens etc."

No. 49. Thisbé de Belcour à Bougainville. Au Ecureuil le 15 aoust 1759. Ms. about 180 words.

" le detachement canadien est prêt a partir des le premier mouvement que je verray faire a l'ennemi."

No. 50. Bigot à Bougainville. Au Qr. Genl., le 16 aoust 1759. Ms. about 200 words.

Concerning provisions——" Nous avons vus par la dépositions des prisoniers fait au Sud que vous avés fait plus de mal aux Anglois que vous ne comptiés."

No. 51. DeBlau à Bougainville. A Jacque Cartier, ce 16 aoust 1759. Ms. about 400 words.

"Mon monde s'en va toujours, et dans peu je serai seul; je vais demain ou après au plus tard, faire encore une revue et envoyer l'estat des absents à M. de Vaudreuil,"

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No. 52. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Du Quartier Général, le 16 aoust 1759. Ms. about 550 words.

The necessity of guarding well provision convoys.

No. 53. De Montreuil à Bougainville au camp ce 17 a quatre heures du matin. Ms. about 250 words.

Deals simply with minor orders.

No. 54. Vaudreuil à Bougainville 17 Aoust [1759]. Ms. about 120 words.

" les sages dispositions et l'ordre que vous avés établi pour assurer le passage du convoi de vivres."

No. 55. Cadet à Bougainville a Jacques Cartier 17 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 100 words.

Concerning military supplies.

No. 56. Bigot à Bougainville, 17 Aoust [1759]. Ms. about 260 words.

"Les gens de la Pointe de Levis vienent de nous mener trois deserteurs du camp de la Pointe de Levis. Ils disent qu'ils comptent rester jusqu'au 15 7bre.

.... Les deserteurs disent qu'ils ont tant de malades qu'ils ne savent ou les metre qu'ils ont perdu tant tués que blesses jusqua ce jour.''

No. 57. Bigot à Bougainville. '' Le 18 Aoust '' [1759]. Ms. about 150 words.

" J'ai fait voir à Mr. le M. de Vaudreuil la lettre que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Il pense comme vous qu'il faut risquer le tout, à la fois."

No. 58. De Blau à Bougainville, 19 Aoust, 1759. Ms. about 75 words.

No. 59. LaRochebeaucour à Bougainville. "A la Rivière port neuf le 19 Aoust 1759." Ms. about 175 words.

" Je suis demeuré ici..... de vous donner des nouvelles des mouvemens que l'ennemi pouroit faire...... un habitant vient de me dire que Mr. de Belcour etoit très près des ennemis et qui les observoit avec un douzaine de cavalier—"

No. 60. Note Circulaire de Montreuil. "Au quartier General ce 16 Aoust 1759." Ms. about 200 words.

Concerning the protection of a convoy of provisions.

No. 61. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. "Ce 19 Aoust 1759." Ms. about 250 words.

Concerning convoy of provisions.

No. 62. Marcel à Bougainville. "Ce 20 [Aout] a deux heures du matin" [1759]. Ms. about 120 words.

"J'arrive dans le moment et J'aprens que les Anglois sont rembarqués....Je crois être authorisé a vous faire mon compliment et la retraite des ennemis n'en est pas moins düe à la celerité du mouvement du corps que vous commandès."

No. 63. De Montreuil à Bougainville. " Ce 21 Aout " [1759]. Ms. about 125 words.

Orders to protect a provision convoy.

No. 64. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. " Du Quartier Général le 21 Aoust 1759." Ms. about 200 words.

" J'etois déja prevenu de votre activité à vous porter à la rencontre des ennemis qui avoient débarqué a Deschambault....Je suis bien persuadé que sans cela vous auriéz eu l'avantage de les repousser."

No. 65. Montcalm et Montreuil à Bougainville. Ce 21 Aoust 1759. 2 letters. Ms. about 450 words.

Discuss the possibility of the enemy moving up to Sorel and crossing to Three Rivers.

No. 66. Bigot à Montcalm, "le 21 Aoust" [1759]. Ms. about 325 words. Regarding provisions and transport wagons.

" Je vais prier M. de Bougainville de se charger de faire faire et batre les recoltes de son quartier et Cadet en chemin faisant conviendra de prix avec les habitants. On leurs donera un reçu pour etre ensuitte payé suivant le cours."

No. 67. Bigot à Bougainville. "Au Quartier Général 21 Aoust 1759." Ms. about 200 words.

Instructing him to harvest the grain.

No. 68. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. "31 Aoust [1759] a 8 heures et demi du soir." Ms. about 250 words.

Orders to provide a guard for a provision convoy.

No. 69. Vaudreuil a Bougainville. "Du Quartier Général le 22 Aoust 1759." Ms. about 325 words.

"Je ne suis point en peine, Monsieur, que vous n'ayez prevû à observer et suivre les mouvemens de l'ennemy et essentiellement à la sureté de nos vivres qui dans les occurences présentes Font notre objet capital."

No. 70. Thisbé de Belcour à Bougainville. Aux Ecureuils, ce 22d Aoust 1759. Ms. about 200 words.

Concerning a batteau and schooner which he is watching at Cap Sante.

No. 71. De Blau à Bougainville. "Ce 22" [aout 1759]. Ms. about 200 words.

" Mr. de Bellecourt m'a fait un reproche que je luy ay arretté 20 hommes dimanche je vous avoüe et a luy aussi que je n'en scay rien, ni ne m'en souviens pas."

No. 72. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. "Quartier General le 22 au Soir" [Aout 1759]. Ms. about 100 words.

Concerning provision Convoys.

No. 73. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 23 Aoust 1759, Ms. about 300 words.

Concerning convoys.

"J'ay communiqué votre lettre à M. le Marq. de Montcalm et à Mr.

l'Intendant. Ces Messieurs son convaincus tout comme moy de votre zele.''

No. 74. de Montreuil à Bougainville. Ce 24 Aout 1759. Ms. about 175 words.

"M. le Mrs de Montcalm me charge de vous dire que le detachement anglois qui est dans votre partie paroit vouloir debarquer sans se compromettre ainsi pour peu qu'il trouve de la resistance il se rembarquera bien vite."

No. 75. Cadet à Bougainville, n. d., Ms. about 150 words.

Regarding provision convoys.

No. 76. Vaudreuil à Bougainviile. "Du Quartier Général le 24 aoust 1759." Ms. about 200 words.

Commending him for the way in which he has performed his duties.

No. 77. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Au Quartier Général ce 25 aout 1759. Ms. about 750 words.

"Je n'ay pas besoin de vous dire, Monsieur, que vous ne sauriés être trop attentif aux mouvemens de l'ennemy..... C'est a vous a faire la guerre à l'œil."

No. 78. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, 26 aoust 1759. Ms. about 125 words.

"M. de Blau voudroit dans sa partie un officier de plus. Vous savés combien l'étoffe est rare mais je l'envoye; donnés lui l'ordre de servir également comme ingénieur et comme officier d'infanterie suivant l'exigence du cas.

No. 79. Montcalm à Bougainville. "Ce 26" [aout 1759.] Ms. about 200 words.

Neutralité avec les Abénakis.

No. 80. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 27 Aoust [1759] a 9 heures du soir. Ms. about 120 words.

" Il est passe nombre de vaisseaux de guerre anglois dont l'objet est sans doutte de s'embosser devant la ville..—

In consequence he orders Bougainville to come to the city immediately with the major part of his men.

No. 81. Vaudreuil à Bougainville " Ce 27 Aout 1759 a dix heures du soir." Ms. about 350 words.

Concerning the securing of provisions and the guarding of the Richelieu country.

- No. 82. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, [28 Aout 1759?] Ms. about 150 words.
- "Vers les dix hures de ce soir nous avons eu une demonstration d'attaque par environ quatre vingt berges qui se sont presentés vis-a-vis nos retranchements et qui ont bien vite Disparu."
- No. 83. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. "Du Quartier Général Ce 28 Aout 1759." Ms. about 200 words.
- "—vaisseaux anglais qui étoient devant St Augustin... Je demande au munitionnaire de me renvoyer au moins deux cents des meilleurs hommes pour les batteries de la ville."
- No. 84. Cadet à Bougainville. Aux Grondines le 28 Aout 1759. Ms. about 100 words.
- " Je compte partir d'ici, demain au soir ou après demain matin, avec le restant de mes vivres, je vous prie d'avoir la bonté de m'informer des mouvemens de l'ennemi."
  - No. 85. Bigot à Bougainville. 28 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 75 words. Urging that the roads be put in good repair for the transports.
- No. 86. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 28 Aoust 1759. Ms. about 75 words.
- "J'ai envoyé à Sillery la Compe de Grenadiers de la Sarre, à l'ance St Michel 50 hommes du dt. regt. à Samos 50 hommes de Languedoc."
- No. 87. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. "Du Quartier Général le 29 Aoust, 1759." Ms. about 500 words.

He learns that the British Ships that had passed up the river before

the city are opposite St Augustin. "Il n'est rien de mieux que cet arrangement. La position des vaisseaux ennemis, ne me permet pas de douter que les vivres ne soient voiturés par eau jusqu'à la pointe aux trembles où ils seront deposés à l'ordinaire dans l'eglisse."

No. 88. Cadet à Bougainville. "Aux Grondines le 29 Août 1759 à 9 h du soir." Ms. about 225 words.

"....1'Escadre Anglaise est reunie vis-à-vis chez vous, mais que faute de longue vûe, vous n'avés pas pu reconnaitre la force de ses bâtimens...."

Reference is also made to the moving of provision convoys.

No. 89. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. " 30 Aoust à 10 h ¼ du matin." Ms. about 250 words.

"....le cavalier expédié de ce lieu pour St Augustin avoit rencontré celui que vous aviés detaché pour m'informer que les Anglois avoient tenté à faire leur descente au dt St Augustin mais que vous les aviés repoussés."

No. 90. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, "30 Aoust [1759] à 31/4 heures." Ms. about 300 words.

"Il n'y a pas a douter que les Anglois n'eussent des vuës sur le moulin de St-Augustin......Il est bien facheux que nous ayons eu deux soldats et un Canadien de blessés........Nous eumes hier deux deserteurs anglais......etc."

A very interesting letter.

No. 91. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, 31 Aoust 1759, Ms. about 350 words.

Concerning dispositions of the troops on the North Shore—protection of the St-Augustin mill provisions coming from Pointe aux Trembles. "J'ai reçu la copie que vous m'avés envoyée de la proclamation que les Anglois ont fait courir à la côte du Sud."

An Interesting letter.

No. 92. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, 31 Aoust 1759, Ms. about 300 words.

- "J'ai reçu monsieur, la lettre que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'ecrire par laquelle j'ai appris que les batimens anglais ont cannonné les bateaux qui avoient transporté nos vivres à la pointe aux Trembles \*\*\* je ne puis que vous réitérer la confiance que j'ai en votre zèle."
- No. 93. Vaudreuil à Bougainville, 31 Aoust [1759], Ms. about 275 words.

Concerning the English ships above the city and there movements.

- No. 94. Vaudreuil à Bougainville Ce 1er Septembre 1759 a minuit. Ms. about 100 words.
- "Voilà donc les vaisseaux anglois au Cap Rouge. Ils pourroient bien tenter à y faire une descente, et la combiner avec une attaque au camp, et peut être à la ville".
  - No. 95. Montcalm à Bougainville Sept 1 1759. Ms. about 400 words.
- " Je crains toujours que l'anglois ne veuille faire un établissement quelque part pour nous couper communication prenez garde à Jacques Cartier et à Deschambaut.
- .....Je viens de raisoner avec M. Cadet qui pretend que vous etes persuadé que vous ne serez pas attaqué.''
  - 2 letters one dated at 2 30 and the other at 5 30 o'clock.
- No. 96. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. "Ce 1er septembre 1759 à 5 h. ½ du soir. Ms. about 75 words.

Enclosing Montcalm's letter of the same date. " Nous nous remettons l'un et l'autre à votre prudence."

No. 97. Montreuil à Bougainville. Ce "7bre au soir [1759."] Ms. about 200 words.

How to prevent the Enemy disembarking at St. Augustin or Pointe aux Trembles.

No. 98. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 2 7bre 1759. Ms. about 120 words.

"1'escadre angloise est maintenant mouillée vis-à-vis St. Michel\*\*\*

Les Anglois ont placé des boüées sans doute parce qu'ils ont en vüe de faire embosser des vaisseaux vis à vis notre ligne....''

No. 99. Montreuil a Bougainville. Ce [?] 7bre a 8 heures du soir. Ms. about 180 words.

"Les ennemis ont au plus 1500 hommes au Saut on a aperçu ce matin cinq bouées que les ennemis avoient placez le long de la ligne. Nous sommes fort alertes, je suis persuadé que vous ne l'etes pas moins, il faut esperer que la fin couronnera l'œuvre et l'ennemi ne tardera pas a se determiner a s'en aller ou a nous attaquer."

No. 100. Montreuil à Bougainville. " Ce 3 7bre a 9 heures du matin. Ms. about 60 words.

"Les ennemis paraissent vouloir nous attaquer..... Monsieur, ils manœuvrent comme le 31 peut être veulent ils prendre leurs revange."

No. 101. Montreuil à Bernetz. Ce 3 7bre 1759. Ms. about 175 words.

"Faites avertir toute votre garnison, il y a apparence qu'ils veulent représenter la seconde piece du 31."

No. 102. Bernetz à Bougainville. Quebec 3 September 1759. Ms. about 100 words.

Further details concerning the enemy's movements. "les Anglois sont embarqués avec nombre de berges et sont mouillés autour de la frégate mouillée au chenal du Nord."

No. 103. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 3 7bre., 1759. Ms. about 250 words.

"Vous savés que le poste de St. Augustin est d'une grande importance\*\*\*\*\* Le camp de la pointe de Levis a été considerablement renforcé...."

No. 104. Vandreuil à Bougainville. 3 7bre. 1759. Ms. about 200 words.

Il n'est rien de mieux que la position que vous occupés et les arrangemens que vous avés en même tems pris pour la chaine de vos postes\*\*\*\* Les Anglois ont aussi fait un mouvement au Saut mais ils ne font plus aucune démonstration ils ont au contraire brulé leurs retranchemens.

No. 105. Saint Sauveur à Bougainville. Du 4 7bre. a 11 heures ½ du soir [1759]. Ms. about 50 words.

"Le batteau.... devant le poste de M. de Villejoin."

No. 106. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 5 7bre. [1759]. Ms. about 150 words.

Concerning a bateau bringing provisions.

No. 107. Montcalm et Montreuil à Bougainville ce 5 7bre. Three Ms. letters No. 1 by Montcalm 125 words—No. 2 by Montcalm 40 words, No. 3 by Montreuil 60 words.

"Le mouvement des ennemis mon cher Bougainville, est si considérable que je crains...... qu'il ne cherche a nous dérober une marche pour nous couper la communication."

He sends the Regiment of Guienne which is to be held in reserve on the high way behind Sillery.

No. 108. Montcalm à Bougainville ce 5 7bre 1759 à 4 heures. Ms. about 450 words.

Instructs him to watch carefully the enemy's boats — sends more troops. A most interesting letter.

"M. Wolf est bien homme a rétrograder des ce soir."

No. 109. Remigny à Bougainville. Le 5 a 6 h. [1759]. Ms. about 75 words. A scout's report.

"La colonne des ennemis m'a paru estre de 4 mil cinq cent hmes. y compris les troupes légeres qui formoient l'avant garde, ils ne sont point encore sortis du bois qui est en deça de la riviere des Echemains."

No. 110. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 5 7bre. 1759. Ms. about 800 words.

The disposition of troops from Anse des Mers to Cap Rouge—2,100 men in all—Other interesting details of the defence.

No. 111. Montcalm à Bougainville, n d. Ms. about 150 words.

No. 112. Montcalm à Bougainville. With a note by Chev. de Montreuil. "Ce 6" [Sept. 1759]. Ms. about 120 words.

"Je crains toujours la communication coupée. Voilà encor 200 grenadiers que je passe à la batterie de Samos à votre disposition."

No. 113. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 6 7bre. a 11 heures. Ms. about 800 words.

Concerning the disposition of troops from "l'ance des Mers jusqu'au Cap Rouge." A most valuable document.

No. 114. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. " Ce 6 7bre., 1759, Ms. about 550 words.

Concerning the disposition of troops, and supplies.

No. 115. de Montreuil à Bougainville, "Ce 6 7bre" [1759], concerning troops—Ms. about 250 words.

Si les ennemies se portent en force vers St-Augustin on vous enverra ......le regt. de Guyenne avec armes et bagages.....

Vous garderez avec vous la Compagnie de giers, et le piquet de Guyenne a qui j'enverrai ses tentes et marmites aujourdhuy ou demain matin.

No. 116. I Remigny à Bougainville, "Ce 6 a 3 10 m." [1759], Ms. about 200 words.

"De la manœuvre des ennemis il n'y a pas a douter qu'ils ne veullent tenter une descente."

No. 117. Montbeillard à de Montreuil, "Ce 6 7bre au soir" [1759]. Ms. about 200 words.

"J'ai l'honneur d'informer M. le Major Général qu'il n'y a ni facines ni piquets rendus au redon de Vienne car la Facine ne marche qu'avec 4 piquets."

No. 118. Remigny à Bougainville ce 6 a 8 h. [Sept 1759] Ms. about 250 words. Report on the enemy's movements.

Je crois que les troupes qui sont venues ce soir s'en sont retournées sur leurs pas parce que les berges n'ont point fais de vat et viens, pour onze a douze cent homes comme ils nous ont parus.—La mer cesse et la lune nous favorise.

No. 119. Montbeillard à Bougainville 7 7bre. a 9 heures du matin [Sept 1759] Ms. about 100 words. Sends artillery.

"Vous faites une bien belle campagne, puisse-t-elle finir comme elle a commencer!"

No. 120. Montcalm à Bougainville. "ce 7 a 8 h. du matin" [Sept. 1759]. Ms. about 250 words.

"Il est certain que la conduite des ennemis est aussi embarrassante qu'equivoque. Si vous arrivés à tems a un debarquement le nombre de leur part n'y fera rien s'ils vous surprennent c'est different."

No. 121. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 7 7bre. 9 h. ¼ du matin [1759]. Ms. about 250 words.

Expresses confidence in Bougainville and sends him the two guns he asked for.

No. 122. Montcalm à Bougainville. Ce 7 7bre. a midy [1759]. Ms. about 350 words.

General instructions.

"Le point important mon cher Bougainville est de bien suivre le mouvement du corps que vous aves par eau vis a vis de vous."

No. 123. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 7 7bre. a 8 heures après midi [1759]. Ms. about 250 words.

"Vous aves parfaitement bien arrangé toutes choses et quelque parti que l'ennemi prenne je suis bien assuré qu'il vous aura vis à vis de lui au moyen de quoi je suis fort tranquille."

No. 124. Bigot à Bougainville. 7 7bre 1759. Ms. about 100 words. Concerning provisions for the Garrison.

No. 125. Bigot à Bougainville. 8 7bre [1759]. Ms. about 150 words.

Sending shoes for Duprat's volunteers.

No. 126. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 8 7bre apres Midy [1759]. Ms. about 425 words.

"Les ennemis ne peut avoir que deux objets, la diversion ou s'etablir en haut a vous dire vrai je crois plutot le premier et le second ne leur reussira qu'autant qu'il vous previendrait."

No. 127. Bigot à Bougainville. Au Quartier Général le 9 7bre 1759. Ms. about 150 words.

"Votre camp est plein d'eau les ponts des chemins sont soulevés et les charettes ne peuvent marcher. Il faut esperer que le beau temps reviendra bientot sans quoi nous serons très embarassés."

No. 128. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 9 7bre 1759. Ms. about 200 words. Position of English frigates.

" Je suis bien charmé que vous n'avés pas été obligé de faire aucun mouvement du mauvais tems que nous avons."

No. 129. Cadet à Bougainville. Au camp de Beauport le 9 7bre 1759. Ms. about 350 words.

The Provisioning of the troops.

No. 130. Montcalm à Bougainville. 10 7bre 1759. Ms. about 350 words.

"Un prisonnier un peu instruit serait tres utile\*\*\* Prenes garde a deschambaut quand vous devriés renforcer."

No. 131. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 10 7bre 1759. Ms. about 125 words.

"J'ai appris les mouvemens des anglais dans vos cantons toujours fort indécis, que vous aviés été obligé de les suivre jusqu'à St Augustin mais qu'ayant retrogradé vous aviés repris votre première position."

No. 132. Montbeillard à Bougainville. 10 7bre. 5 heures du soir [1759]. Ms. about 100 words.

"Il faut donc que votre canonier soit fou pour n'avoir que 30 coups a tirer."

No. 133. Bigot à Bougainville. Au quartier général le 10 7bre 1759. Ms. about 150 words.

" Nous devons avoir aujourd'huy deux petit battiments chargés de farines rendus a Batiscan."

No. 134. Cadet à Bougainville. Au Camp de Beauport le 10 7bre 1759. Ms. about 225 words.

Concerning the two provision boats for the garrison.

No. 135. Abercrombie (James) à Bougainville. Au Camp de la pointe le 10eme de 7bre 1759. Ms. about 250 words.

Another personal letter.

"Je suis du même opinion que Voltaire dans Candide que nous faisons la guerre pour quelques arpens de neiges dans ce pays."

No. 136. Remigny à Bougainville. A Sillery le 10 matin 1759. Ms. about 350 words.

Report of movements of the English. An interesting letter.

No. 137. Le P. Roubaud à Bougainville. A la Canardiere 11 Septembre [1759]. Ms. about 300 words.

Concerning the Indians under his control.

"Rien de nouveau ici. L'ennemi est venu ce matin sonder le bassin de Quebeck c'est une montre et rien de plus."

No. 138. Thiballier à Bougainville. A la pointe aux Trembles, le 11 7bre 1759. Ms. about 250 words.

"Le détachement de monsieur du chouquet est arrivé ici avec dix sept hommes. Lors qu'il a été question de passer a la cote du sud l'on n'en a pu rassembles que onze y compris le sergent."

No. 139. DeBlau à Bougainville. A Jaque Cartier le 11 7bre 1759. Ms. about 350 words.

"Nous ne perdrons point de temps.....a remettre le pont sur pied dès que le torrent de Jaque Cartier sera moins fort."

No. 140. Montcalm à Bougainville. 11 7bre 1759. Ms. about 125 words.

Unimportant.

No. 141. Montreuil à Bougainville, le 11 a 5 heure du soir [Sept. 1759], Ms. about 75 words.

Unimportant.

No. 142. Cadet à Bougainville. Au Camp de Beauport le 12 7bre. 1759. Ms. about 100 words.

Je vous prie monsieur de vouloir bien faire passer les batteaux cette nuit.

No. 143. Vaudreuil à Bougainville 13 7bre. 1759 (The day of the battle). Ms. about 150 words.

"Il parait bien certain que l'ennemi a fait un debarquement a l'ance au Foulon nous avons mis bien du monde en mouvement..... Les forces d'ennemi paroissent considerables."

No. 144. Vaudreuil à Bougainville undated. Ms. about 350 words.

A digest of the position of the French troops-

No. 145. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. 16 7bre. 7 h. Ms. about 150 words.

"l'objet le plus intéressant est maintenant d'empêcher la ville de manquer et de s'assurer de l'objet qui occupe les ennemis."

No. 146. Cadet à Bougainville. A Jaques Cartier le 16 7bre. 1759. Ms. about 120 words.

" J'espère.... d'assurer la subsistance de l'armée.

No. 147. La Rochebeaucourt à Bougainville, undated. Ms. about 100 words.

" Is at Charlesbourg with 100 horses."

No. 148. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 17 7bre. 1759. Ms. about 150 words.

"J'aprens avec plaisir, monsieur, par votre lettre que la cavalerie est à Charlebourg\*\*\*\* route pour Bourg Réal qui tombe sur la maison du Sr. Devienne que j'occupais."

No. 149. La Rochebeaucourt a Bougainville. "le 17 7bre a une heure apres midy." Ms. about 50 words.

No. 150. Bernetz à Bougainville. A Quebec le 17 7bre 1759. Ms. about 250 words.

The state of the city.

"tous les miliciens sont sans courage.... la plus part ont jetté leurs armes,.... une désertion affreuse..... le peuple, les enfants crient famine. Les travaux de l'ennemy sont sous la place et une batterie a la face de la Courtine entre la porte Saint Jean et St Louis... envoies nous... prompt secours—point un moment a perdre,"

No. 151. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Ce 17 7bre a 9 h. après midy. Ms. about 300 words.

re taking provisions into the city.

No. 152. La Rochebeaucourt à Bougainville. [17 Septembre au soir]. Ms. about 50 words.

The capitulation of the city.

No. 153. Lévis à Bougainville. La pointe aux trembles le 18. Ms. about 150 words.

His regrets for the great loss sustained.

No. 154. Debouyer à Bougainville. Du Camp devant Quebec ce 20 7bre 1759. Ms. about 150 words.

"Si Mesdames de l'hôpital avoient besoin de recommendation il n'y en a aucune pour laquelle son Excellence (M. Le Général) aurait plus d'egard que pour la votre." No. 155. Levis à Bougainville. Ce 22 7bre 1759. Ms. about 40 words.

Unimportant.

No. 156. Townshend à Bougainville. Au Camp devant Quebec le 22 7bre 1759. Ms. about 250 words.

Asks if there is any subject of complaint among French officers—Will always consider it a duty to render to them such kindnesses as he has always received from them.

29. Bougainville.—Note dictated by Bougainville du Camp de Lorette 21 7bre 1759 An abridged history of Bougainville's services from 1st May to Sept. 18th

A very valuable unpublished document of 61/4 pp. 4to.

From the original in the possession of Mde de Saint Sauveur Bougainville. This copy was kindly sent by the Count R. de Kerallain, Quimper, France.

30. Brigadiers General to General Wolfe, n. d.

Reply to General Wolfe's suggestions, Aug. 1759, Mss. about 400 words.

The officers point out the great strength of the French entrenchments on the Beauport side and hence consider that operations should be directed from above the town.

From the original in the British Museum add. 32-8 95 f. 90.

31. Brigadiers' "Plan of operations in consequence of the above answer". (Brigadiers n. d.) To General Wolfe.

Proposes an attack somewhere near Cap Rouge.

From the original in the British Museum Add. 32, 895 8 91.

32 Cadet à Bougainville.—Nine letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos 25, 55, 75, 84, 88, 129, 134, 142, 146.

AP. III-16

33. Calcraft James (Capt) to—Quebec Sept. 20 [1759.]

About 2,200 words. A spirited description of the battle.

"There was no more than the 1st line of our army engaged, the second line stood still, there being no occasion for it."

Calfcraft was a friend of Wolfe's and had great admiration for him.

From the Scot's Magazine, Vol. 21, p. 552, Oct. 1759.

- 34. Casualties.—Official Return of the Kill'd Wounded and Missing during the campaign, Signed by Robert Monckton, Brigr. Genl., Oct. 8. 1759. From the original in the Public Record Office, Vol. 88.
- 35. Casualty Statement.—A fragment undated and unsigned giving a detail of the killed, wounded and prisoners of both armies at the battle of the Plains.

From the original in the British Museum add 32 895 f. 453.

36. Catherine II.—Extracts from private despatches to the Empress Catherine II of Russia, by the Comte Michel Bestoujeff-Rumine, Russian Ambassador at Paris, and Prince Alexandre Galitzine, Russian Ambassador in London.

There are ten extracts in all dated as follows: 14 Oct. 1756. (Paris) 25 June 1759—27 Aug. 1759—5 Oct. 1759—5 Oct. 1759—8 Oct. 1759—No. 7 undated. 19 Nov. 1759—31 Aug. 1759—10 Sept. (London) Mss. about 5625 words.

An interesting contemporary account of the Siege as seen by the eyes of the diplomats. The originals are in the Archives at Moscow. A translation was made under the direction of Prince Galitzine who kindly verified it for this work. French translation from the Russian.

37. Chanson canadienne.

## "Voilà la Ressemblance Voilà la Différence."

A very curious satirical song of five stanzas refering to the French and English people, found in Ms. on the original of a Letter from La Reverende Mere Duplessis de Ste. Helene de l'Hôtel Dieu de Quebec. In the Archives of the Hôtel Dieu.

## 38. Cheltenham.—The Cheltenham Correspondence.

Perhaps the most valuable single, collection of autograph letters of Montcalm and his aides is to be found in the Library of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, England. They were gathered by Sir Thomas Phillips, during his life one of the most enthusiastic and unremitting collectors. Sir Thomas at his death bequeathed his library to Mr. Fenwick, through whose kindness we are enabled to give a general out line of this collection, and in doing so we crave indulgence for the lack of definiteness in the data. The existence of this collection has never before been cited in any Bibliography.

The Cheltenham collection consists of four portfolios quarto and two folio.

- Vol. I. Contains considerably over one hundred letters of Montcalm, with a few of Bougainville and others.
- Vol. II. Contains over one hundred letters of the Marquis de Vaudreuil—with some of Bigot, etc.
- Vol. III. Contains about ninety letters of the Chevalier de Levis, also letters of Doreil, La Rochelle, Bougainville, Hebecourt and others.
- Vol. IV. Contains fifty letters of Rigaud de Vaudreuil, also letters of Malartic, Senezergues, Doreil, Hebecourt, etc.
- Folio Vol. I. Contains letters of Louis XV of France, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Marquis de Poulnay, the Duc de Belleisle, Lord Amherst, Gen. Cremilles, the Duc de Choiseul, etc., and numerous "Instructions," and "Relations" to Bourlamaque, signed by Vaudreuil and Montealm.
- Folio Vol. II. Contains numerous "Memoirs," Relations, Instructions, Reports, &c., some signed by Montcalm, Vaudreuil, &c.

The period covered in these six volumes is from 1756 to 1762.

When it is considered that there is not a single Ms. letter Mont-calm's in the British Museum and only a comparatively few among all the collectors of both Europe and America, it can be easily seen that the Cheltenham Collection is very valuable.

39. Choiseul (Duc de).

See under Cheltenham Collection.

40. Courouyer (Hertel de) à De Blau.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 27.

- 41. Courouyer, (Hertel de) à Bougainville. Two letters. See Bougainville Correspondence, Nos. 20, 34.
- 42. Cremilles (General).

See under Cheltenham Collection.

43. Cunningham George.

See No. 4 of the Sackville papers.

44. Debouyer à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 154.

45. De Blau à Bougainville. Eleven letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 18, 26, 28, 33, 39, 43, 47, 51, 58, 71, 139.

46. Duplessis. Mme Duplessis de Ste Hélène, Supérieure de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec. Fragment à—, undated. Evidently written just after the capitulation. Interesting details.

47. Doreil.

See Under Cheltenham Collection.

48. Galway Papers, The.—Copies of Original letters in the possession of the Right Honourable the Viscount Galway (Baron Monckton) of Serlby Hall, Yorkshire.

The copies were kindly sent to the authors for this work by the Viscount Galway.

- I. Enquiry by General Wolfe as to the conduct of an officer of Kennedy's, [June 29th. 1759].
- 2. Isaac Barré to Brigadier General Monckton, St Lawrent, July 1st. 1, in the morning. About 170 words, requesting Brigadier Monckton to immediately fortify his Camp.
  - 3. Isaac Barré, Adj Gl.——

Point of Orleans, July 7th.

Orders for Webb's and Kennedy's to hold themselves in readiness to embark. About 50 words.

- 4. Isaac Barré Adjt. Genl. to Brigr. Monckton. Montmorenci, July 16th., about 60 words. re loss of provisions.
- 5. Isaac Barré to Hon. Genl. Monckton. Montmorenci, July 24th. at night, about 40 words. Ordering a battery of six twenty-four pounders to be constructed to annoy the town.
- 6. Charles Saunders to——, Sterling Castle, 30th. July 1759, about 40 words. Notice that three boats for one thousand men will be sent "by eight o'clock to-morrow."
- 7. Isaac Barré to Hon. Genl. Monckton, Head Quarters, Aug. 16th. General Wolfe desires two more divisions of Highlanders.
- 8. Charles Saunders to—Sterling Castle 16th. August 1759, regarding Admiral Holme's boat.
- 9. Jeff. Amherst to Hon. Br. General Monckton, Camp of Crown Point, August 20th. 1759.

Enclosing copy of letter from Lord Barrington,

- 10. James Wolfe to Honble. Brigadier General Monckton 19th. August 1759. About 110 words.
- "I wish we had Murray's corps back, that we might be ready to decide it with 'em."
- 11. James Wolfe to Brigadier Monckton. Montmorency 22nd. Augt. 1759. About 100 words.
- "Murray, by his long stay above and by detaining all our boats, is actually master of the operations—or rather puts an entire stop to them."
- 12. Isaac Barré to Hon. Gl. Monckton. Head Quarters Augt. 24th. 60 words.

The General "thinks it would be right to order some Rockets at Goreham's Post, to be thrown up."

- 13. Isaac Barré to Hon. B. G. Monckton. Head Quarters, 6 o'clock.
- "The state of the troops shall be got ready (as near as I can determine) by this night: "
- 14. Isaac Barré to Hon. Brigr. Monckton, Sutherland, September 9th. at night.
- "The General recommends your sending out a strong detachment to morrow to scour the country; to see what damage can be done the Enemy by destroying villages, the Harvest."
- 15. Valentine Nevill, to His Excellency Genl. Monckton, Quebec, 7th. October 1759.

200 words, Congratulating the General and enclosing an Epitaph on General Wolfe.

- 16. "An Essay to an Epitaph on the truly great and justly lamented Major General Wolfe, who fell Victoriously before Quebec, the 13th. September 1759... 22 lines.
  - "Here rests from toil, in narrow bounds confined...."

49. George II.—The King's Secret Instructions for Rear Admiral Saunders. Feb. 5, 1759, 7 pp. Mss. unpublished.

From the Contemporary draft in Public Record Office, London, Vol. 77.

50. George II.—The King's Secret Instructions for Brigadier General Wolfe. Feb. 5<sup>th</sup> 1759, 7 pages. Mss. unpublished.

From the Contemporary draft in Public Record Office, London, Vol. 77.

51. Gibson (James) to Governor Laurence.

Bason of Quebec, 1st. Aug. 1759, with a postscript dated Aug. 10th. Ms. about 3,800 words.

July 20. "Within the space of 5 hours we receiv'd at the generals request three different Orders of Consequence which were contradicted immediately after their reception; which indeed has been the constant practice of the Gen: ever since we have been here to the no small amazement of every one who has the liberty of thinking. Every step he takes is wholly his own; I'm told he asks no one's opinion, and wants no advice; and therefore as he conducts without an assistant the Honour or—will be in proportion to his success.

From the original in the Archives of Nova Scotia. It has been published by the Govt. of N. S.

52. Godwin, Major John, Royal Artillery.

An account of the guns, mortars, ammunition, &c., found in the city of Quebec upon its surrender to his Majesty's troops.

Endorsed: In Monckton's of Oct. 8th. 1759. Enclosure No. 4.

From the Contemporary Draft in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I. Vol. 88.

53. Godwin, Major John, Rl. Artillery.

Return of French Iron Ordnance between the River St. Charles and Montmorenci. Quebec, 10th. Oct., 1759.

Endorsed: In Monckton's of Oct. 8th., 1759. Enclosure No. 5.

From the Contemporary Draft in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I., vol. 88.

54. Grant, Lieut. James, to Col. Bouquet, Camp at Crown Point Sep. 15, 1759.

Extract about 500 words. Rumours of the Siege.

From the Bouquet Papers in the Brit. Mus.

55. Hebecourt.

See under Cheltenham Collection.

56. Holmes Charles (Admiral) to——? Admiralty Mss. About 1900 words.

Lowestoft off Foulon in the River St. Laurence above Quebec, 18 Sepr. 1759. A detailed account of the battle.

The earliest official account of the battle and in many respects the most valuable, the writer being a close observer. "The General and the first embarkation of troops climbed the precipice and gained the top of the hill without any remarkable opposition."

From the original in the British Museum add. 32 895 f. 449.

57. Hutchinson Thos. to His Excellency Gen. Wolfe, Boston, 24 May, 1759.

Ms. about 200 Words.

Agreeing to General Amherst's suggestions to furnish 300 men for the Louisbourg detachment. Enclosed in Wolfe's letter of June 6, 1759.

From the original in the Public Record Office London, A. & W. I. vol. 88,

58. Johnson (John).—Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec and Total Reduction of Canada in 1759 and 1760, by John Johnson, Clerk and Quarter Mas'r Sergeant to the 58th Reg't.

Mss. about 34,000 words.

The author prefaces his Journal with the following remarks:

At the particular request of several gentlemen of the Fifty-eighth Regiment of Foot, to which I was Clerk Twenty-eight years (from its first raising in 1756, until after the late siege of Gibraltar, and from which I was discharged in 1784) but more especially at the request of Lieutenant David McKemptie the Adjutant, and as such, was my Master, and who prevailed on me to keep a Memorandum of such particular occurrences as might happen in our Expedition up the River Saint Laurence, for that Campaign, against Quebec; through which Importunity I was prevailed upon to take the Minutes of the several transactions which appeared at that time, to be most worthy of Observation; and which I have mentioned at large in the following Memoirs, which happened during the Siege of Quebec in the Year 1759; As also of the nature of our Duty, after we were become Masters of that City, and the Country adjacent: with their bold Attempt to retake it by Assault upon the ice the following Winter: with our Battle and defeat; and of our being besieged in Quebec the Spring following:—As also, I have given the best Account I am able of the Total Reduction of All Canada in the Year 1760, by General Lord Amherst; and to which I have added a few special remarks and observations.....

A great number of the most material circumstances which happened in the course of these Memoirs were furnished by the above said Adjutant Mr. McKemptie, and other Gentlemen, of Our Own, and other Regiments: And if Mr. McKemptie, had lived, he purposed to make them publick as soon as the Regiment should arrive in England, and which was in the Year 1763; but unfortunately being wounded in the Battle on the heights of Abram, the thirteenth of September, and of which Wound he Died; by which the publication dropped:—

But being at length lodged in Safety, basking under the bright beams

of His Most Gracious Majesty, in Chelsea Hospital, and plentifully provided with every comfortable necessary of life, by the Benevolence of his Country: and having much liesure time, and no profitable employment he set himself down; and for the amusement of himself, as also of Such of his Comrades, who were partakers with him in the toils and dangers mentioned in the following Memoirs; And for whose perusal they are at all times free.—

Two manuscripts bearing this tittle exist, one in the possession of George F. Parkman, Esq., of Boston, and the other in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. Copies of both are before us. There is considerable variation in the text of the Journals, as may be seen from an extract made from each Journal under the date of July 8th., 1759 .- From the Journal in the possession of Mr. Parkman: "On the Eighth of July, in "a Council of War, it was resolved to send two Ships of War, two armed "Sloops, and some transports with troops on board; to make a diversion " on the other side of the town; and to endeavour as much as possible " to draw off the attention of the Enemy from Beauport; as expecting "that General Montcalm would follow him up the River with his army, "and by that means leave his present object open to him, whereby he " might the easier become possessed of that, so much desired Situation! "He went himself in person on this sham expedition, that he might "find out as much as possible, the nature of their situation on that side " of the town, &c."

From a copy of this Journal in the Dominion archives:

"On the eighth day of July, in a Council of War, it was resolved to send two ships of war, two armed sloops and some transports with some troops on board, to make a diversion on the other side of the town, and if possible to draw the attention of the enemy that way from their present situation at Beauport: the General went himself with this little armament, and observed minutely the banks of the river—&c.

59. Journal abrégé de la campagne de 1759 en Canada par M. M. \*\*\* ayde de camp de M. le Mis. de Montcalm.

Mss. about 6000 words. Contains very full details of the events of the siege, and appear to have been writen with great care.

From the original in the possession of Mde. de Saint Sauveur Bougainville.

The Mss. is of 34¼ pages 4to. and is in the same hand writing as the note dictated from the camp at Lorette. See under Bougainville.

It is the opinion of M. de Kerallain that the Journal is that of Marcel, aid de camp to the Mis. de Montcalm.

60. Journal.—Fragment of a Journal, Anonymous, undated and unsigned.

About 900 words, describing the battle and the subsequent capitulation of the city.

"A little after ten the whole force on both sides being collected and the dispositions completed, the French came on with great fury to the attack but they were so well received that at 40 minutes after ten they were totally routed."

From the original in the British Museum. Add. 32, 8955, f. 455.

61. Journal.—Fragment of a Journal of the battle of the Plains undated and unsigned.

Mss. about 900 words. This fragment appears to have been revised by the author as there are many corrections made, which throw a great deal of light on debated points.

From an official copy of the original Mss. in the Library of Congress at Washington.

62. Journal of the particular transactions during the siege of Quebec, by an officer of Fraser's Highlanders. Undated.

About (7300) words.

The original Mss. was at one time in the possession of Mr. Galloway who communicated it to *Notes and Queries* (London) through Mr. J. Noble. It was published in vols. vii. and viii., 1859, and is here repro-

duced by permission of Mr. Francis, the proprietor of *Notes and Queries*, who has also kindly made for this work a complete index of references to the Siege of Quebec in *Notes and Queries*. A very interesting journal.

- 63. La Rochebeaucour à Bougainville.—Five letters.
  See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 15, 59, 147, 149, 152.
- 64. LaRochelle.

See under Cheltenham Collection.

- 65. Laurence to Pitt.—Halifax, May, 8, 1759.

  Extract 25 words. Wolfe satisfied with preparations for Expedition.

  From the original in the Public Record Office A. & W. I., Vol. 72.
- 66. Laurence Charles to.—Halifax, Oct. 7th 1759.

Mss. of about 2800 words.

This letter refers to the capture of Quebec, as an important and despaired of event.

The letter gives the writers reasons for dissolving the assembly of Nova Scotia. "The last assembly was composed of persons very unfit for their office, they had neither capacity nor integrity..... in short the majority were drum sellers..... The sordid wretches that were of the former assembly."

From the original in the Library of Congress at Washington D. C.

- 67. Lévis (chev. de) à Bougainville.—Two letters.

  See Bougainville Correspondence, Nos. 153, 155.
- 68. *Lévis* (Chevalier de)
  See under Cheltenham Collection.
- 69. Louis XV. of France.
  See under Cheltenham Collection.

70. Malartic.

See under Cheltenham Collection.

71. Malartic à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 42.

72. Marcel à Bougainville.—Three letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 24, 45, 62.

73. Monckton, Townshend, Murray.—Robert Monckton, George Townshend, James Murray to General Wolfe. On board the Leowstoffe, Sep. 12. 1759.

Mss. about 150 words.

The generals are very much in the dark as to the morrow's attack and request enlightenment.

This letter shows the secrecy pursued by Wolfe until the last. See letters of Townshend and Gibson.

From Copy in the British Museum Add 32 895 f. 90.

74. Monckton, Robert, to William Pitt.—River St. Lawrence, Camp at Point Levi, Sept. 15<sup>th</sup> 1759.

Mss. about 150 words.

Official intelligence of the victory and description of the writer's wound.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London. A. & W. I. Vol. 88.

75. Monckton, Robert.—Manifesto, 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1759, Quebec.

Mss. about 250 words.

Permitting Canadians to return to their parishes and take possession

of their lands, enjoy their religion without let or hinderance on the part of the English who are not come to ruin the Canadians, but to give them a taste of the sweetness of just and righteous government. Enclosed in Monckton's letter of Oct. 8th., 1759.

Copy of a contemporary draft in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I. Vol. 88.

76. Monckton.—Monthly Return, &c. of His Majesty's Forces in the River St. Lawrence under the Command of Brigr. General Robt. Monckton Sept. 24. 1759.

From the original in the Public Record office London Vol. 88.

77. Monckton, Robert, to William Pitt.—River St. Laurence, 8 Oct. 1759.

Mss. about 1.750 words, with enclosure 500 words.

An official report of the condition of affairs at this date. Soldiers rewarded for their gallantry on the 13th. His opinion of Vaudreuil, appoints Murray Governor, and Burton Lieut. Governor, Improvements to General Hospital, Reasons for leaving a strong garrison. Plans of the battle and fortifications. Encloses a list of killed and wounded from commencement of Campaign. Has sent a sloop to New York for money.

Enclosure: Vaudreuil, June 7 1759, in French. Speaking of the English this letter says: "leur projet étant de massacrer tout ce qui est Canadien sans distinction de sexe ni d'âge."

A most valuable historical document.

From the original in the Public Record Office A. & W. I., Vol. 88.

78. Monckton (Robert) Brigadier General.—Disposal of the Staff of the army up the River St. Lawrence.

Mss. about 150 words (no date). Enclosed in Monckton's of Oct. 8, 1759, No. 8.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I. Vol. 88.

79. Monckton.—Return of the State of His Majesty's Forces under the Command of Brigr. Genl. Monckton, left in Garrison at Quebec. October the 12th 1759.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London, Vol. 88.

80. Montbeillard à de Montreuil.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 117.

81. Montbeillard à Bougainville. Two letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 119, 132.

82. Montcalm.—(Journal du Marquis de), durant ses campagnes en Canada, de 1756 à 1759; publié sous la direction de l'abbé H.-R. Casgrain, 1895.

Many portions of this Journal appear to have been copied by the original compiler of the Journal from the manuscript of Bougainville and it is often difficult to determine who is the author.

Several phrases which would fall naturally from the lips of Bougainville, a subordinate officer, obtain a different significance when proceeding from Montcalm.

As an example of the similarity of the Journals we quote a passage from page 429 of the Journal of Montcalm, and publish a fac-simile of the entry in Bougainville's own hand in his Journal of the same date.

"Du 7 au 12 août 1758—J'ai envoyé M. de Bougainville à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, avec ordre d'étouffer, s'il étoit possible, ce levain de discorde qui fermentoit et qui peut-être auroit nui au bien du service. Ainsi, je fais encore les avances; l'intérêt public est la règle de mes démarches, et j'ai sans cesse dans l'ésprit ce mot de Thémistocle: Frappe, mais écoute. Il paroît que le Marquis de Vaudreuil a plutôt suivi dans toutes ces tracasseries les impressions de subalternes intéressés

à brouiller, que ses propres idées : ce qui est cependant de lui dans cette affaire, c'est l'amour-propre et une jalousie de rivalité, fondement sur lequel bâtissent les brouillons. Les apparences sont que le voyage de M. de Bougainville n'a pas été infructueux ; Je souhaite que les faits y répondent.''

See also Journal of Bougainville.

83. Montcalm (Marquis de).

See under Cheltenham Collection).

- 84. Montcalm Marquis de.—Autobiography of, in the possession of the Marquis de Montcalm, château D'Avéze, France.
- 85. Montcalm to Amherst (French) Quebec, May, 24, 1759.

  Mss. about 200 words.

Endorsed: "Copie of a letter from Mr. Montcalm to Major Genl. Amherst, 24 May, 1759. Proposal of an exchange of prisoners agreable to last cartel. Enclosed in a letter of Amherst to Pitt, 19 June, 1759. No. 99.

From Copy in Public Record Office London, A. & W. I. Vol. 90.

86. *Montcalm* to Amherst.—Au Camp de Beauport, le 30 juillet 1759.

Mss. about 500 words.

Endorsed: In relation to the exchange of prisoners disavowing the Cayuga Indian executed for the murder of M. Michael committed by his (the Indians' own confession at the instigation of the French and informing the General, that General Wolfe "il y a dix-huit jours paroit occupé d'Incendier Québec."

Enclosure 10 in Amherst to Pitt, Oct. 22nd., 1759.

From the copy in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I. Vol. 91.

87. Montcalm à Bougainville.

Twenty-four letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 19, 37, 65, 79, 95, 107, 108, 111, 112, 120, 122, 130, 140.

88. *Montcalm* to M. de Molé, du Camp devant Québec, août 24, 1759.

The original of this letter is believed to be in Cheltenham, and to be a forgery executed by the Jesuit Robaud, and is therefore of no historical value.

From the Copy in the British Museum, 103 l. 134 p. 2.

89. Montcalm à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu, undated.

Mss. about 150 words.

From the original in the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec.

90. Montcalm à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu. Montréal, 26 juin 1756.

Mss. about 150 words. From the original in The Hotel Dieu, Quebec.

91. Montcalm à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montreal, 27 August, 1756.

Mss. about 150 words. Unimportant—refers to Carillon.

From the original in the Hotel Dieu, Quebec.

92. Montcalm à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, 3 septembre 1757.

Mss. about 200 words. Concerning the Community.

From the original in the Hotel Dieu, Quebec.

AP. III-17

93. Montcalm à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu, Carillon, 26 septembre 1756.

Mss. about 300 words.

"Oserais-je vous demandez si vous avés eu la bonté de songer à moy pour le sucre d'érable et du beaume de Canada."

From the original in the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec.

94. *Montcalm* à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu, Carillon, 8 octobre 1756.

Mss. about 300 words.

From the copy in the Hôtel Dieu, Québec.

95. Montcalm à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu. Montréal, 12 octobre 1756.

Mss. about 200 words. From the original in the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec.

96. Montreuil à Bernetz.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 101.

97. Montreuil à Bougainville. Eleven letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 12, 23, 36, 53, 63, 74, 97, 99, 100, 115, 141.

98. Montreuil.—Note Circulaire.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 60.

99. Murray.—An order "par Son Excellence Monseigneur Jacques Murray" dated 26th Sept. 1759.

Regulating the price of wheat, flour and meal.

100. Nevill, Valentine.

See No. 13 of the Galway papers.

101. Paulnay, (Marquis de).

See under Cheltenham Collection.

102. *Pitt*, William to Major General Amherst.—Whitehall, December 29<sup>th</sup> 1758.

About 3200 words. Preparatory instructions regarding the projected Siege of Quebec. Containing many interesting details.

From the Contemporary draft in Public Record Office, London, vol. 76.

103. Pitt William to Major General Amherst.—Whitehall Jany. 12<sup>th</sup> 1759.

Mss. about 420 words. Regarding the rendezvous at Louisbourg for "the most important enterprize against Quebec."

From the contemporary draft in the Public Record Office, London, Vol. 77.

104. Pitt William to Major General Amherst.—Whitehall Jny. 13, 1759.

Mss. about 450 words. Instructing him to Secure molasses and rum to serve the troops for 6 months, "particularly of the latter", other details regarding the victualling of the troops.

From the contemporary draft in the Public Record Office London, Vol. 77.

105. Pitt Wm. to General Amherst.—Whitehall, Feb. 10<sup>th</sup> 1759. Secret.

About 400 words. Enclosing a copy of the Secret Instructions the King has been pleased to give——Govt. policy outlined. Unpublished.

From the original in Public Record Office, London, Vol. 77.

106. Pitt William to Rear Admiral Durell.—Whitehall Dec. 29<sup>th</sup> 1758.

Mss, about 300 words. Instructions "in Confidence" to re-fit and repair all Ships under his command in preparation for the expedition against Quebec.

From the contemporary draft in the Public Record Office London, Vol. 76.

107. Pitt William to Rear Admiral Saunders.—Whitehall, Jany 9th. 1759.

Mss. 200 word.

Relates to the preparations for the Epedition against Quebec, and enclosing a letter from Pitt to Durell of Dec. 29th. 1758.

From the original in the Public Record Office London. vol. 77.

108. Pitt, William to Rear Admiral Saunders.—Whitehall 12 Jany. 1759.

Mss. about 500 words.

Instructions to prepare 20,000 tons of transport vessels to convey troops from England to New York for the Expedition against Quebec

From the contemporary draft in the public Record Office London vol. 77.

109. Pitt William to Rear Admiral Saunders.—Jany 20th 1759.

Mss. about 250 words.

Amending his instructions of Jany. 12th.

From the contemporary draft in the Public Record Office London. vol. 77.

110. Prisoners captured by French.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 7.

## 111. Remigny à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondance Nos. 109, 116, 118, 136.

it surrendered on the 18th Sept. 1759.

A total of 1871 officers and men including both regular and militia, undated and unsigned.

From the original in the British Museum, add. 32895, p. 453.

113. Roubaud, (Le Père) à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondence, No. 137.

- Mss. Historical Manuscripts Com. 9<sup>th</sup> report, part 3 & seq. now out of print. Transcript made at the public Record office.
- 1. Wolfe to Lord George Sackville, Portsmouth, Feb. 11, 1758, about 350 words. Concerning choice of officers.
- 2. Wolfe to Lord George Sackville, Halifax, May, 17 [1758.] About 550 words. Preparation for Louisburg Campaign.
- 3. Wolfe to the same. Halifax, May, 24, 1758. About 1500 words. "Upon inquiry into the affairs of this country it appears evidently that the two principal ports and frontiers, indeed, of America, are Halifax and Oswego, one of which we have already lost, and the other we must lose in 12 hours whenever it is attack'd."
- 4. Cunningham, James, to Lord George Sackville, on board the Ludlow Castle at sea. May, 30, 1758. About 150 words. "Genl. Wolfe was remarkably active, the scene afforded scope for his military genius."
  - 5. Wolfe to Lord George Sackville (undated) about 1500 words.

An account of the capture of Louisbourg. "So much depends upon the abilities of individuals in war that there cannot be too great care

- "taken in the choice of men for the different offices of trust and importance."
  - 6. Wolfe to the same, 7th Aug. About 600 words.
- "A man of honour has a right to expect the protection of his colonel and of the commander of the troops, and he can't serve without it."
- 115. Saint Sauveur à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 105.

116. Saunders, Charles.

See Nos. 6, 8, of the Galway papers.

117. Saunders (Admiral Charles).—State and Condition of his Majesty's ships undermention'd under the Command of Vice Admiral Saunders, off Point Levi, 30<sup>th</sup> August, 1759.

A tabulated statement of 44 heads in which the most complete information is given concerning the seamen, the provisions on board the Ships, the number of officers absent and on duty, and the state of each vessel with the date of the last overhauling.

25 vessels are named. The statement is a document of the utmost value and its accuracy is guaranteed by the signature of Vice Admiral Saunders.

From the original in the Admiralty office, London.

118. Saunders, Charles, to——Admiralty. (?)

Mss. about 1200 words.

Neptune off Scatari, 6th. June, 1759, official report of the disposition of the ships.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London. Admirals Despatches N. A., vol. 3.

Castle off Quebec, 21st Sept., 1759.

Mss. about 800 words.

Official report of the Capitulation.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London, Admiral's Despatches, N. A., vol. 3.

120. Saunders, Charles, to Clevland.—Sterling Castle off Point Levi, 5<sup>th</sup> Sept., 1759.

Official report to the Admiralty to date, gives many interesting details as to landing of the troops and progress of the Siege. A valuable letter.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London. Admiral's Despatches, N. A., vol. 3.

Schomberg, Alexander (Captain), to Admiral Forbes.
 Boston Sept. 5<sup>th</sup> 1759.

Mss. about 700 words. Describes the attack on Beauport under date Aug. 1st.

"The Enemy's situation is very advantageous and his numbers very superior; General Wolfe appears in his conduct more like Fabius Maximus than Achilles."

From the original in the British Museum. Add. 35893 & 237.

122. Senezergues.

See under Cheltenham Collection.

123. Thiballier à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 138.

124. Townshend, George, to Barrington.—Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20. [1759].

Mss. about 125 words. Sends a copy of the Return of killed and wounded, a Return of the strength of the army on the day of action "a return of artillery stores fallen into our hands on the Beauport side, and likewise what falls to us upon the Capitulation."

From the original in the War Office, vol. II.

125. Townshend à Bougainville.

See Bougainville Correspondence No. 156.

126. Townshend, George, to——Pitt (?) Camp before Quebec, Sepr. 20 "1759".

Ms. about 2000 words. The official account of the Battle of the Plains,

This letter has been published a great may times, but never correctly. In Jefferys, Knox, and others, many alterations have been made with a view of improving the orthography. The construction of some of the sentences has also been altered.

From the Original in the Public Record Office, London, Vol. 88.

127. Townshend, Brigadier General. — Journal of the Voyage to America and the Campaign against Quebec, 1759. From a note book or rough diary apparently in Townshend's own hand writing. From Feb. 16th to Sept. 17, 1759.

Mss. about 16000 words. The original belongs to the collection of the Marquess Townshend, but is at present in the possession of Colonel Townshend, Hounslow Barracks, who permitted a copy to be made for this work.

This Journal contains many details of great value which are not found in any other account of the Campaign.

- 128. Townshend Papers.
  - a. Extract from a letter signed Beauclaire. "A l'isle Piquet ce 20

aoust 1759 '' and endorsed: "This letter was brought to B. General Townshend on ye field of Battle—and was taken amongst Monsr de Senezergues Papers, who was second in Command."

Mss. about 140 words.

b. Loose pages of rough notes. Evidently memoranda for more extended notes.

Mss. about 700 words.

c. Robt. Monckton to Honble. Brigadier Genl. Townshend.

Camp at Point Levi, August, ye 28th, 1759.

- d. Do. do., to the same, August, 17th. 1759.
- e. Do. do., to the same, July, ye 20th. 1759.

Mss. about 150 words.

- f. Chas. Saunders to Honble. General Townshend, with marginal note "I have wrote the Adl. an answer" yours (Sig. Robt. Monckton).
- g. Le Che. de la Ferté a Bord du Porpas Transport, ce 16 8bre 1759. Mss. about 450 words. An interesting letter from a prisoner of war.
- h. Vaudreuil (marquis de) a Son Excellence le General Townshend a son quartier general ce 14 7bre 1759. Mss. about 300 words. On the back of this letter is written "Reponse à la lettre de l'autre coté ce 15 7bre 1759. About 300 words.
  - i. Charles Saunders to Brig. Townshend. Stirling Castle, 1 Sept. 1759.
- j. Simon Fraser to Brigadier General Townshend, Point Levi, Sep. 13, 1759. To be forwarded immediately. Endorsed Col. Frazer, Sep. 1759. Mss. about 200 words.
- k. Chas. Saunders to Brig. Gen. Townshend. Stirling Castle, Sep. 15,1759. Enclosing letter of Capt. Goreham.
  - l. Goreham Jos. Village St. Thomas Sep. 14, 1759.
  - m. Elliot R. Major 43rd. Regt.

n. "A Report of the Detachment Commanded by Major Robt Elliot that passed the River Charles Camp before Quebeck 20th September 1759."

Addressed to Honble, Genl. Townshend.

- o. Charles Saunders to Brig. Gen. Townshend. Lowestoffe 15 Sept. 1759.
- 129. Vaudreuil, (Marquis de).

See under Cheltenham Collection.

130. Vaudreuil à Bougainville. Fifty-one letters.

See Bougainville Correspondence Nos. 13, 14, 17, 21, 22, 29, 30, 35, 38, 46, 52, 54, 61, 64, 68, 69, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 98, 103, 104, 106, 110, 113, 114, 121, 123, 126, 128, 131, 143, 144, 145, 148, 151.

131. Vaudreuil to Capt. Boishébert. Memoire pour servir d'instruction à M. de Boishébert Chevr. de St. Louis Capitaine d'une Compagnie des troupes du détachement de la Marine. Montréal, 5 mars 1759.

Mss. about 800 words.

Enclosed in Monckton's Oct. 8th. 1759. Enclosure No. 6.

From the original in the Public Record office, London, A. & W. I., Vol. 88.

132. Vaudreuil à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu (Mme Duplessis de Ste Hélène). Quebec, 10<sup>th</sup> Aug., 1759.

Mss. about 125 words. Unable to give supplies needed by the Hospital.

From the original in the Hotel Dieu, Quebec.

133. Vaudreuil à Mme. la Supérieure de l'Hôtel-Dieu. Quebec, 29 Aug., 1759. Mss. about 150 words. " Je suis obligé de réduire l'armée à trois quarterons de pain."

From the original in the Hotel Dieu, Quebec.

134. Whitmore, Ed., to Major General Wolfe. Louisbourg, 19th May 1759.

Mss. about 150 words. Reply to Wolfe's letter of the same date, q.v. He awaits orders from major General Amherst. This letter enclosed in Wolfe's of 6th. June 1759.

From the copy in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I., vol. 88.

135. Wolfe, Gen.

See Nos. 1, 10, 11, of the Galway papers.

136. Wolfe, J.

See letter Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, of the Sackville papers.

137. Wolfe.—Last will & testament dated Neptune at sea; 8th June, 1759, with codicil. Camp of Montmorency, 29th July, 1759, also report of Probate on the 6th Feb., 1760. Directions for the disposal of Miss. Lowther's Portrait.

The text of Probate is as follows:

"On the sixth day of ffebruary in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty Administration with Will and Codicil annexed of the goods, chattles and credits of James Wolfe, Esquire, late major General of His majesties fforces at Quebec in America, a Batchelor deceased was granted to Henrietta Wolfe widow, the natural and lawful mother of the said deceased and Residuary Legatee named in the said will for that no Executor is named therein she having been first sworn duly to administer."

Copy of the Register of Wills in Somerset House. A fac simile of the will is published as an illustration, 138. Wolfe Major General.—"Manuscript book of General "Orders of Major, afterwards General Wolfe, from

"the 12th Feb. 1748 and carried down to the Evening

" preceding the victorious action in which he fell.

"This book was the property, and is partly in the

" handwriting of Capt. the Hon. Lionel Smythe 23rd

"Regt. of Foot (afterwards 5th Viscount Strangford.)

" who served throughout the war, and was during the

" greater part of the time A.D.C. to his kinsman Earl

" Percey."

Memo by C. H. Wylly, Major, Assistant Editor and Librarian R. U. S. I.

This book is in the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall.

139. Wolfe J. to-Neptune, 6th June 1759.

Mss. about 600. Official report of the Embarkation at Louisbourg. "The military Chest Empty."

From the original in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I., Vol. 88.

140. Wolfe.—Embarkation Return of His Majesty's Forces destined for an Expedition in the River St. Lawrence under the Command of Major General Wolfe. Neptune at Sea, June 5, 1759.

From the original in the Public Record Office, Vol. 88.

141. Wolfe, James, to Major Gen. Amherst.—(An extract) Halifax, 1st May 1759.

Mss. about 500 words. Endorsed: acquainting the general of his arrival the state of the troops and fleet the military chest Empty, and desiring a reinforcement of 300 pioneers from the provincials. Enclosed

in a letter from Amherst to Pitt "Camp at Fort Edward, June, 19, 1759. Enclosure No. 80.

From the original, Public Record Office, London, A. & W.I., Vol. 90.

142. Wolfe, James, to Lord Barrington.—Neptune at Sea, 6th June, 1759.

Mss. about 400 words. A spirited answer to fancied insult in which Wolfe threatens to resign his commission.

From the original in the War Office, London-N. A. V., Vol. 11.

143. Wolfe, General, to the Brigadiers.—Head Quarters, Montmorency, Augst. 1759.

Mss. about 375 words. As Wolfe is indisposed he sends some suggestions for the attack of the city for his Brigadiers to consider in council of war. His plans refer only to an attack on the Beauport side.

From the original in the British Museum, add. 32-895. f. 89.

144. Wolfe, James, to his Mother.—Glasgow 13 Aug 1749. Extract 215 words.

From the copy in the British Museum.

145. Wolfe, James, to his brother.—Inverness, Nov. 6th 1751.

Extract 700 words.

Bitter criticism on army methods and army officers.

From the copy in the British Museum.

146. Wolfe, James, to his father.—Exeter, Feb. 10th 1755.

Mss. about 200 words. (Extract).

On "his narrow circumstances."

From a copy in the British Museum.

147. Wolfe, James, to his mother.—Exeter, 19th Feb., 1755.

Mss. about 275 words. (Extract).

His readiness for duty.

From the copy in the British Museum.

148. Wolfe, James, to his father. Exeter, 12th March, 1755.

Mss. about 250 words (Extract). Private matters.

From the copy in the British Museum.

149. Wolfe, James, to his mother.—Winchester, 26 March, 1755.

Mss. about 100 words (Extract). "All my hope of success must be grounded upon right and just pretentions."

From the copy in the British Museum.

150. Wolfe, James, to his mother.—Two letters Extracts. Lymington, July 19, Southampton, Sep. 28, 1755.

Mss. about 200 words. A home letter "you shall laugh at my short red hair as much as you please."

From the copy in the British Museum.

151. Wolfe, James, to his father.

Extract Mss. about 100 words. Winchester, 19 Oct. 1755. "Desiring to provide for his mother's future wants."

From the copy in the British Museum.

152. Wolfe, James, to his mother.—Canterbury, 8 Nov. 1755.

Mss. about 400 words (Extract). "If I don't keep a good watch over myself, I must be a little vain for the Duke has of late given me such particular marks of his esteem and confidence that I am ashamed not to deserve it better."

From the copy in the British Museum.

153. Wolfe, James, to his father.—Canterbury, 13 Nov. 1755.

Mss. about 50 words (Extract). Regrets certain remarks that he had made.

From the copy in the British Museum.

154. Wolfe, James, to his Mother.—Canterbury, 16 Nov. 1755.

Mss. about 150 words (extract). Has engaged a new groom.

From the copy in the British Museum.

155. Wolfe, James, to his Mother.—Banks of the river St. Lawrence, 31st Aug. 1759.

Mss. about 200 words (extract) very interesting. He is determined to leave the service at the first opportuity.

From the copy in the British Museum.

156. Wolfe, James, to Brigadier Monckton.—"Sutherland" 8½ o'clock, Sep. 12, 1759.

Mss. about 500 words. Answer to the collective letter of the Brigadiers of same date.

Announces that he will make the attack at Foulon where he thinks the attack is most likely to succeed.

"It is not a usual thing to point out in the public orders the direct spot of our attack, nor for any inferior officers not charged with a particular duty to ask instructions upon that point. From an official copy of the Mss. in the British Museum.

157. Wolfe, James, to——Pitt.?—Namur, 1st Nov., 1758.

Mss. about 1000 words.

Rumours of scarcity of provisions and distress at Quebec-bread selling at one shilling per pound.

Enclosure: Letter from Murray to Wolfe, Louisburg, 24th. Sept. 1758. Mss. about 900 words.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London. A. & W. I., vol. 79.

158. Wolfe, General, to Mr. Secretary Pitt.—Head quarters at Montmorenci, Sept. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1759.

Mss. about 900 words. (Extract).

Refers to the Brigadiers' Council of War, their plan of attack and his approval of it: In case of disappointment he intended to fortify Isle aux Coudre, and to await next season.

From the original in the British Museum.

Add. 32, 875 f. H. 121 to 124.

159. Wolfe J., addressed to Captain Rickson, of Col. Lascelle's Regiment, to be left at Lucas's Coffee House Dublin, Ireland; Glasgow, Apl. 2, 1749.

This letter bears the old fashion'd post mark, Glasgow pd. 2d. Part of Wolfe's seal is still adhering. Ms. about 900 words.

"The men here are civil, designing and treacherous, with their immediate interest always in View.

The letter refers to Wolfe's discontent at garrison duty in Scotland.

The original is in the Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, and forms one of a series of 12 letters addressed to Capt. Rickson.

These letters were first published in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine for Dec. 1849, with a Biographical sketch of Wolfe by John Buchanan. Littell's Living age reproduced them in 1850.

As published in these Magizines several passages, apparently considered by the editor to reflect on Wolfe, were omitted, but the complete letters are published in this work for the first time.

160. Wolfe J. to Rickson, 1750.—The place, the outside address and several other parts are crumbled away. Probably also written from Glasgow.

The second letter of the Wolfe Rickson series. Mss. about 1100 words.

"Tell Cornwallis that I thank him for making me a lieutenant colonel, (which by the by you did not take the least notice of).

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

161. Wolfe J. to Captain Rickson.—Old Burlington St., March 19, 1751.

Desires to know the condition of the colony of Nova Scotia which he has much at heart. Mss. about 250 words.

The third letter of the Wolfe-Rickson series.

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

162. Wolfe, J. W., to Capt. Rickson.—Banff, 9th June, 1757.

Mss. about 2500 words. The 4th. letter of the Wolfe-Rickson series.

"I conclude your post will be greatly improved; and instead of the shallow works that you describe, something substantial will be erected, capable of containing a large garrison, with inhabitants trained to arms, in expectation of future war with France, when I forsee great attack to be made in your neighbourhood."

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A valuable letter.

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

163. Wolfe, James, to Rickson.—Exeter, 9th December, 1754.

Mss. about 200 words. The 5th letter of the Wolfe-Rickson series.

"In whatever situation a man happens to be placed, the mind is so framed that it works itself out some occupation to make a pleasure of: "

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

164. Wolfe, J. to Captain Rickson.—Exeter, 7th March 1755.

Mss. about 1500 words. The sixth letter of the Wolfe-Rickson series.

"Marksmen are now here so necessary as in a mountainous country; besides, firing ball at objects teaches the soldiers to level incomparably, makes the recruits steady, and removes the foolish apprehension that seizes young soldiers when they first load their arms with bullets."

From the original in the Natural Museum of Antiquities.

165. Wolfe, James, to Captain Rickson, Aide de Camp to Major General Lord George Beauclerk, at Inverness, Scotland.—

A portion of Wolfe's seal is still adhering to this letter. Mss. about 800 words.

Lymington 19 July 1755. The 7th letter in Wolfe-Rickson series.

"If the French resent the affront put upon them by Mr. Boscawen, the war will come on hot and sudden, and they will certainly have an eye to the Highlands."

From the original in Natural Museum of Antiquities.

166. Wolfe, James, to Captain Rickson.—London 21st July 1757.

Mss. about 500 words. The eighth letter in the Wolfe-Rickson series.

This letter is written on the eve of his departure for Rochefort.

"A man will not be ill used that will not bear it."

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

167. Wolfe, J., to Captain Rickson, Deputy Quarter Master General of Scotland at Edinburg.—Blach Heath, 5<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1757.

Mss. about 1000 words. The ninth letter in the Wolfe-Rickson series.

Written on his return from the Rochefort Campaign.

"No time may be lost in idle debate and consultations, when the sword should be drawn Pushing on smartly is the road to success."

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

168. Wolfe, James, to Captain Rickson.—Wolfe's seal still adhering to this letter.

Mss. about 400 words. The tenth letter in the Wolfe-Rickson series. Black Heath, 12 Jany, 1758. "Being of the profession of arms, I would see all occasions to serve; and therefore have thrown myself in the way of the American War, though I know the very passage threatens my life."

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

169. Wolfe, Jas., to Rickson.—Portsmouth, 7th Feb. 1758.

Mss. about 500 words. The eleventh letter in the Wolfe-Rickson series. Written on the eve of sailing from Portsmouth on the expedition against Louisbourg. "Success is in the hands of Providence, but it is in every man's own power to do his part handsomely."

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

170. Wolfe, James, to Captain Rickson.—Salisbury, first December, 1758.

Mss. about 800 words. The 12th letter in the Wolfe-Rickson series.

Describing the Louisbourgh Campaign "I do not reckon that we have been fortunate this year in America. Our force was so superior to the Enemy's, that we might hope for greater success; but it pleased the Disposer of all things, to check our presumption, by permitting Mr. Abercrombie to hurry on that percipitate attack of Ticonderoga, in which he failed with loss."

From the original in the National Museum of Antiquities.

171. Wolfe, James, to Vice Adml. Saunders.—Aug. 20th 1759.

About 1000 words.

This letter points out the errors in judgment displayed in the attack of Montmorency, and the General takes the entire blame upon his own shoulders.

"I am sensible of my own errors in the course of the campaign, see clearly where I have been deficient, and think a little more or less blame to a man that must necessarily be ruined of little or no consequence."

From the Gentleman' Magazine, June 1801. There is a preliminary note signed P. addressed to Mr. Urban, of this letter he says, "it is part of a collection now in my hands by the same general officer during that arduous expedition—is wholly in the General's hand writing and may be acceptable to some of your military readers."

172. Wolfe, James, to Brigadier Townshend.—Sutherland, 8½ clock, 12<sup>th</sup> Sept 1759.

Mss. about 75 words. Concise orders for the attack at Foulon.

"I have no manner of doubt that we are able to fight and beat the French army."

Probably Wolfe's last letter. Parkman mentions a letter of the 11th as probably Wolfe's last letter.

From the official copy of the Mss. in the British Museum add. 32-895, f. 93.

173. Wolfe, Jam., to Brigadier Gen. Whitemore.—Louisbourg 19th May 1759.

Mss. about 300 words. Applying for a company of Light Infantry to use in the operations against Quebec.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W. I., vol. 88.



#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

# THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

PART III.

#### PLANS AND ENGRAVINGS

1. "A correct Plan of the Environs of Quebec and of the Battle fought on the 13<sup>th</sup> September, 1759: Together with a particular Detail of the French Lines and Batteries, and also of the Encampments, Batteries and Attacks of the British Army, and the Investiture of that City under the command of Vice Admiral Saunders, Major General Wolfe, Brigadier General Monckton and Brigadier General Townshend. Drawn from the Original Surveys taken by the Engineers of the army. Engraved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to His Majesty."

This plan measures 34 inches within the border. There is a second plate overlying the first, showing the progress of the battle.

This plan is considered by competent authorities to be the most valuable engraved plan of the operations against Quebec, in existence.

The late Abbé Verreau considered it of great importance. A small journal accompanies the plan in which there are 75 references. The plan is exceedingly scarce, and differs materially from any other plans published by Jefferys. A copy of the plan was catalogued in London by Hy. Stevens, Sons & Stiles some years ago at £12. 10. 0.

This plan is not mentioned in Faribault, or Gagnon.

2. "Plan of the Town of Quebec, the Capital of Canada in North America with the Bason and a part of the Adjacent Country Shewing the principal Encampments and Works of the British Army Commanded by Major General Wolfe, and those of the French Army Commanded by Lieut. General the Marquis of Montcalm, during the Siege of that Place in 1759. N. B. The British works are Coloured yellow and their Encampments red with the Facings of the different corpses. The French Works and Encampments are Coloured blue. Size 5 ft. 10 x 2 ft. 4 in. Scale 800 feet to the inch, with very full references, the Camp at Point of Orleans, Point Levy, Pointe des Pères, Montmorency, French works at Beauport, British attack on Beauport, 31st July, Battle of the Plains, 13th Sept., and British works after the battle."

The map bears the following explanation: "The different parts were surveyed as follows, viz: the East Side of the Falls of Montmorency, the Point of Orleans and the South Side of the River St. Lawrence, by Capt. Debbeig, Engineer in Ordinary. The Coast of Beauport from the River St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency by Captain Holland of the Royal Americans, Assistant Engineer. The ground between the River St. Lawrence and the River St. Charles by Lieut. DesBarres of the Royal Americans, Assistant Engineer.

The original manuscript is in the British Museum. A fac simile made for the authors has been consulted for the above data.

3. "Plan of the Battle and the situation of the British and French Armys on the Heights of Abraham the 28 of April 1760."

Portion of a Manuscript in the British Museum, 14 ft. x 5. Known as the King's Map. The original is beautifully coloured and would require 30 printings. The works constructed by the British army between the 30th. of September 1759 and April 1760 are given.

4. "Plan of Quebec with the position of the British and French armies on the Heights of Abraham, 13<sup>th</sup> Sepr. 1759."

This is a portion of the King's Map, 14 ft. x 5, in the British Museum.

The plan is in colours and is probably the most detailed and complete plan made of the operations of the British before Quebec. The streams, brooks, hillocks, cultivated and waste ground are shown, the beaches at low and high water, the method and direction of the firing from the batteries the principal buildings in the city, the battle of the 13th, and the works constructed after the battle are clearly indicated.

The references are in figures, and the index is on the side of the plan.

This is the only plan which gives the exact number of troops in the British line of battle.—3111 men. It also marks the exact spot where General Wolfe fell. It is an exceedingly valuable plan and has never been published.

A copy of this map is in the possession of the authors.

5. "A Plan of the ground near ye R. Montmorenci, whereon General Wolf encampt July —— and which he quit September 1759 at 12 o'clock on the Day in sight of the French Army without the loss of a man."

Size 1 ft. 8 in. by 13 inches. Encampments are marked in colours. The original is in the British Museum. There are also two other plans of the adjacent country which appear to belong to this Mss. A facsimile is in the possession of the authors.

6. "Plan of the environs of Quebec with the operations in 1759. In colours. Endorsed by Captain S. Holland."

The original manuscript is in the Public Record Office, London. It is a beautifuly executed manuscript. This plan confirms the other Mss. plans as to the site of the battle.

A facsimile is in the possession of the authors.

7. "A Plan of the River St. Lawrence from the Falls of Montmorenci to Sillery, with the operations of the Siege of Quebec."

A neatly engraved plan about 10 x 6. in the possession of Major J. E. Monckton, Brewood, Staffordshire. A photogravure of this plan was kindly sent to the authors of the Right Hon. the Viscount Galway, (Baron Monckton.)

8. An authentic plan of the River St. Lawrence from Sillery to the Fall of Montmorenci with the operations of the Siege of Quebec under the command of Vice Admiral Saunders and Major General Wolfe down to 5<sup>th</sup> of September, 1759. Drawn by a captain in His Majesty's navy. Dedicated to Pitt. With a small plan entitled "a view of the action gained by the English, Sept 13, 1754, near Quebec." Brought from thence by an Officer of Distinction, published in 1760.

A copy of the engraving is in the archives of the *Département de la Guerre*, Paris. On this copy appear several interesting contemporary comments:

"Ce ne fut pas un siège en 1759, mais un bombardement."

A photograph of this plan was taken for the authors by permission of the *Ministre de la Guerre*, Paris.

9. A plan of the operations at the taking of Quebec, and the Battle fought near that city, Septr. 13<sup>th</sup> 1759. T. Phinn Sr. Scale 1,000 yards to an inch.

In this plan the centre of the French army is shown to be commanded by Gen. Montcalm, the right by Senezergues, and the left by Beau Chatel. In the dispatches to the Empress Catherine II., the name of Beau Chatel is given amongst the killed on the French side.

A fine copy of this plan is in the possession of Mr. Philéas Gagnon.

10. A plan of the City of Quebec, the Capital as it Surrender'd 18 September, 1759, to the British fleet and Army Commanded by Vice Adml. Saunders and Brigdr. Genl. Townshend, with full references.

A photograph of the original in the Département de la Guerre, Paris, was taken for this work by permission of the Ministre de la Guerre "Plan No. 13 de la série générale."

Attached to the original there is another plan. Although small, the plan appears to be accurate, and refers to the position of affairs till the 1st August 1759. An engraving was made of this plan by Perrier.

II. Plan of the city of Quebec showing positions of the British and French armies and the advance by each army after the line was formed on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September, 1759. The positions on this plan were determined from several manuscript plans of the battle by British officers in 1759 and 1760.

Note, This plan is a reconstruction on a large scale of the land between the city walls and Wolfe's Cove. The position of each regiment, both French and English has been determined by scientific measurements of manuscript plans made at the time of the battle by the Engineers of Wolfe's Staff. The outline map of the city which forms the basis of this plan is by M. Cusson, C. E.

Since the battle of 1759, the ground to the west of the city wall has been laid out in streets, and now forms an important part of the city. Without such assistance as this plan affords, the student would have great difficulty in marking the exact site of the battle.

The plan was drawn by G. E. St Michel, and the positions were determined by M. Elzear Charest, Architect and Engineer of the Government of the Province of Quebec, and M. L. A. Vallée C. E., Director of Railways of the Province of Quebec.

12. Plan of the Town of Quebec, the Capital of Canada, in North America, with the Bason and part of the adjacent Country; showing the principal Encampments and works of the British Army commanded by Major General Wolfe, and those of the French, commanded by Lieutenant General the Marquis of Montcalm during the Siege of the Place, in 1759. February, 1777. By Louis Charland. (Manuscript.)

"This plan contains a very correct topographical Map of the country " on the north side of the River St. Lawrence, from Pointe a Puiseaux "to L'Ange Gardien, and on the South side, from below Point Levi "Church to opposite l'Anse des Mères, including the Parish of Quebec, " part of Charlesbourg, Beauport, St. Pierre, Island of Orleans and St. "Joseph of Pointe Levi. The whole of the beaches, to low water, are " accurately laid down, as well as every stream, ravine and eminence, a " plan of the Town and Fortifications, all the Redoubts, Entrenchments " and Batteries erected by the French, the different positions of the Ships " of War and Boats employed at the landing of the Troops; the position " of the English and French Forces, viz: on the Island of Orleans, "Pointe Levi and below the Falls of Montmorency: at the attack on "the French Entrenchments at Beauport, the Landing at Wolfe's Cove " (le Foulon or Fulling mill) and on the Plains, or "Heights of Abra-"ham." The name or number of each ship and Regiment of the French "and English Forces is marked at the respective positions they occupied "at different dates; and various names of localities are preserved which " have fallen into disuse.

"The plan is on a scale of 800 feet to an English inch. The Surveys were the work of Captain Debeig of the Engineer in Ordinary, and "Captain Holland and Desbarres of the Royal American Engineers, all of Wolfe's army. The references on the Maps are a description of the Field works of the French and a short Account of the Battle on the Plains, given with perfect exactness; even the hour of the different movements and the character of the different firings are recorded. No description of Wolfe's Campaign at Quebec, could give so accurate an idea of it as is derived from this Plan, and without it the best description would be very imperfect.—Faribault.

- 13. A plan of Quebec, the capital of Canada as it surrendered the 18th of September, 1759, to the British Fleet and Army, commanded by Vice Admiral Saunders and Brigadier Townshend, London 1760.
- 14. Plan of the Town and Basin of Quebec and part of the adjacent county shewing the principal encampments, and works of the British army commanded by Major Genl Wolfe, and those of the French army, by Lieut-Genl. the Marquis de Montcalm during the attack in 1759. The British works are coloured yellow with the facings of the different corps. The French works and encampments are coloured blue. The different part were surveyed by Captain Delbieg, Engineer in Ordinary, Captain Holland of the Royal American, Assistant-Engineer, by Lieut. DesBarres of the Royal American, Assistant-Engineer. Scale 800. Size, 5 ft, 4 x 2 ft. 2½.

The original was at one time in the possession of the Royal Engineers, and was copied for Mr. Parkman, in 1854. A fac simile of Mr. Parkman's copy has been secured through the kind offices of M. W. C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University.

15. A plan of Quebec, the Capital of Canada, as it surrender'd 18 Septemr. 1759 to the British Fleet and Army Commanded by Vice Adml. Saunders and Brigadier Genl. Townshend, with numerous references.

In the right hand, lower corner, there is a small plan with the references entirely in French marked in ink "Plan No. 13 de la série génle." Département de la Guerre, France.

Permission was obtained from the Minister to obtain a photograph of this plan, and two copies were taken for the Department at Paris, through the kind offices of M. Paul Fabre.

- 16. Manuscript Plan of the Fortifications of the City of Quebec and the Elevations of the Ground two miles west of the City. Attributed to Major Holland.
- 17. Plan of the City of Quebec and the Operations of the Siege. Published by Hawkins in 1841.
- 18. Quebec.—Fortifications of, formerly in the War office, England.

In answer to a letter addressed to the Marquess of Lansdowne, regarding data in the War office, Major General Ardagh, Director of Military intelligence, wrote as follows:

- "In reply to your letter of the 20th. ultimo, I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to inform you that all Journals, reports, and correspondence connected with the Siege of Quebec are now deposited in the Public Record Office and have, doubtless, been inspected and copied on your behalf.
- "The maps and plans of Quebec which were formerly in the office of the Inspector General of Fortifications, were transferred to the custody of the Dominion Government in July 1891. I am informed by the Inspector General that, among others, the following were in the collection and may prove useful:—
- "E. 50. Town and Fortifications of Quebec, with a survey of the heights of Abraham. 1785.

- "C. 21. Cape Diamond and Heights of Abraham, 1769 and 1778.
- "C. 21. General Mann's letter of 2. 11. 1821. City and Fortifications of Quebec, 1799."
- 19. Plan of Quebec and Adjacent Country shewing principal encampments and works of the British and French Armies during the Siege by Gen. Wolfe in 1759, with vignette view of Quebec from Point Levis, very early work, 20 x 151/2, mounted on linen. London, no date.
- 20. Borgia, dit Levasseur, (Noël) Plan dated 1766 to accompany a deed of the property.

This plan shows the position of Bogia's house mentioned in the Journals of the Siege.

The original is in the Ursuline Couvent, Quebec.

21. Chart of the River St. Lawrence, No. 2 of the official Charts, from the Chaudière River to Goose Cape, 5 miles below Isle aux Coudres.

The Chart which is in Manuscript formerly belonged to His Majesty's Ship Neptune, a 90 gun battle ship, the largest vessel which came up the St. Lawrence to Quebec in 1759. For a portion of the time the Neptune was Adml. Saunders's flag ship. The vessel was commanded by Capt. Hartwell. The original of this series of charts is in the British Museum. [1760]. This chart is of the regular size and is made on a scale of 2 miles to the inch. A very valuable document of special interest to navigators.

A Fac Simile is in our possession.

22. A New Chart of the River St. Lawrence, taken by order of Charles Saunders, Esqre, Vice Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships in the Expedition against Quebec in 1759. Published by Command of the Right Honble the Lords of the Admiralty.

THE PHILLIPS LIST OF MAPS OF QUEBEC, CANADA. (1)

## [N. D.]

23. Plan de la ville de Québec [with references], 30 x 24 inches. Manuscript.

# [N. D.]

24. Plan de la ville de Québec; carefully drawn and colored, with forty references to batteries, &c. 25 x 16. Manuscript.

#### 1660.

25. Plan du haut et bas Québec comme il est l'an 1660. Gravé par Marlier. 8½ x 12¼.

[In Faillon (L'abbé Etienne Michel). Histoire de la colonie Française en Canada. [anon]. 8°. Villemarie, bibliothèque paroissiale, 1866, v. 3, p. 373].

## 1694.

26. Québec, ville de l'Amérique Septentrionale, [etc.] H. V. Loon, fecit. 8 x 11½. Paris, de Fer, 1694.

### 1699.

27. Vue de Québec, comme il se voit du côté de l'Est. Jolie vue entourée d'un cadre formant fontaine, les côtés représentant des cariatides, la partie supérieure composée d'attributs militaires rangés en panoplie double séparée par un écusson portant les indications de la planche. Belle pièce tirée d'une carte intitulée:

<sup>(1)</sup> Several of the plans under this title do not refer to the period of the Siege, but the list is published as prepared by Mr. Phillips.

Carte de l'Amérique, entre les 25° et 65° degrés de latitude, et depuis environ les 240° jusqu'aux 340° longitude, contenant les pays de la Nouvelle-France, la Louisiane, Floride, Virginie, Nouvelle-York, Nouvelle-Angleterre, Acadie, etc., par Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, 1699, et qui appartient à la bibliothèque du Dépôt de la Marine, sous le No. B. 4044-10.

[In Pinart (A.—L). Recueil de cartes, plans et vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et au Canada. fol. Paris, Librairie Américaine, 1893. No. 10].

### 1699.

28. Vue de Québec, entourée d'un cadre ornementé. Jolie vue tirée d'une carte intitulée : Partie de l'Amérique Septentrionale où est compris la Nouvelle-France, la Nouvelle-Angleterre, [etc.,] par Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, 1699.

[In Pinart (A.—L). Recueil de cartes, plans et vues relatifs aux Etats-Enis et au Canada. fol. Paris, Librairie Américaine, 1893. No. 11].

### 1699.

29. Vue de Québec prise de l'est, entourée d'une draperie soutenue par des anges. Cette vue est tirée d'une carte manuscrite de la Nouvelle-France, etc., qui porte en cartouche : à Monseigneur, Monseigneur le comte de Maurepas, par son très humble et très obéissant serviteur de Fonville, à Québec, en Canada, 1699.

[In Pinart (A.—L). Recueil de cartes, plans et vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et du Canada. fol. Paris, Librairie Américaine, 1893. No. 8]. Note:—Upon this map is a "Vue de Québec, prise du nord-ouest." Ap. III—19

30. Carte figurative du prompt secours envoyé par l'ordre de monseigneur le marquis de Beauharnois, au vaisseau du roy l'Eléphant, le 2<sup>e</sup> septembre 1729. Dessigné par Mahier, à Québec, le 15 octobre 1729. Dans la partie supérieure de gauche, une vue de Québec; à la partie inférieure de gauche, une vue du château de Québec.

[In Pinart (A.-L). Recueil de cartes, plans et vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et au Canada. fol. Paris, Librairie Américaine, 1893. no. 7].

#### 1744.

31. Plan de la ville de Québec. [Par N. Bellin]. 8 x 11.

[In Charlevoix (P. F. X. de). Histoire et description de la Nouvelle France. 160. Paris, 1744. v. 5. opp. p. 105].

#### 1744.

32. Plan du bassin de Québec et de ses environs. Par N. B. [Bellin]. 1744. 8 x 11.

[In Charlevoix (P. F. X. de). Histoire et description de la Nouvelle France. 18°. Paris, 1744. v. 5. opp. p. 104].

### 1758.

33. Grundriss der stadt Quebec. 71/2 x 11.

[In Allgemeine histoire des reisen zu wasser und lande, 4°. Leipzig, Arkstee & Merkus, 1758. v. 16. p. 670]!

### 1759.

34. Attack on Quebec. [Saunders and Wolfe]. 34 ½ x 16.

[In Mante (Thomas). The history of the late war in North America. 4. London, 1772. p. 233].

35. An authentic plan of the River St. Lawrence from Sillery to the fall of Montmorenci; with the operations of the siege of Quebec, under the command of vice. adm. Saunders & major genl. Wolfe. 1759. 11 3/4 x 14.

[In Universal (The) magazine. 8. London, J. Hinton, 1759. v. 25. opp. p. 281].

#### 1759.

36. An authentic plan of the river St. Lawrence from Sillery to the falls of Montmorenci with the operations of the seige of Quebec under the command of admiral Saunders & Genl. Wolfe, down to the 5<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1759. Drawn by a captain in his Majesty's navy. 13 x 19.

[In Jeffery (Thomas). The natural and civil history of the French dominion in N. & S. America. fol. London, 1760. pt. 1, opp. p. 131].

### 1759.

37. An authentic plan of the river St. Lawrence from Sillery to the fall of Montmorenci, with the operations of the siege of Quebec under the command of vice adml. Saunders & major genl. Wolfe down to the 5<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1759. Drawn by a captain in his Majesties navy. Engraved by Thos. Jefferys].

[In Jefferys (T. engraver). A general topography of North America and the West Indies. fol. London, for R. Sayer & T. Jefferys, 1768, No. 17].

38. A correct plan of the environs of Quebec, and of the battle fought on the 13 sept, 1759: together with a particular detail of the French lines and batteries. Drawn from the original surveys taken by the engineers of the army. Engraved by Thomas Jefferys. 16 x 35.

[In Jefferys (T. engraver). A general topography of North America and the West Indies. fol. London for R. Sayer & T. Jefferys, 1768. No. 18].

#### 1759.

39. A correct plan of the environs of Quebec, and of the battle fought on the 13<sup>th</sup> sept., 1759 together with a particular detail of the French lines and batteries and also of the encampments, batteries and attacks of the British army [etc]. Engraved by Thomas Jefferys. 16 x 35. [London], T. Jefferys.

### 1759.

40. A map of the several dispositions of the English fleet and army on the river St. Lawrence to the taking of Quebec.

[In Jefferys (T. engraver). A general topography of North America and the West Indies. fol. London, for R. Sayer & T. Jefferys, 1768. No. 19].

#### 1759.

41. A plan of Quebec. Oakley (E). 12 x 20. [London], published by E. Oakley and sold by J. Rocque, Oct. 1759.

Note:—With historical text on the margin.

42. Plan of Quebec and adjacent country shewing the principal encampments and works of the British and French armies during the seige by general Wolfe in 1759. Reduced from the mss. map of capt. J. B. Clegg by John Melish. The different parts of this map were surveyed as follows. The east coast of the falls of Montmorency, the point of Orleans and south side of the river St. Lawrence, by capt. Digby, engineer in ordinary. The coasts of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorency, by capt. Holland of the royal Americans, assist. engineer. The ground between the river St. Lawrence and the river St. Charles, by lieut. Debarres, of the royal Americans, assist. engineer. Engr. by H. S. Tanner. 15 x 1934.

[In Melish (John). A military and topographical atlas of the United States; including the British possessions and Florida. 8°. Philadelphia, G. Palmer, 1813].

Note: - Inset "View of Quebec from point Levi."

### 1759.

43. Plan of Quebec and adjacent country, shewing the principal encampments and works of the British and French armies during the siege by gen. Wolfe in 1759. Reduced from the Mss. map of capt. J. B. Glegg, by John Melish. 15 x 20.

[In Great Britain. War office. Official documents relative to the operations of the British army employed in the reduction of the Canadas. 8°. [Philadelphia, 1813].

44. A plan of Quebec and environs, with its defences and the occasional entrenched camps of the French commanded by Marquis de Montcalm; shewing likewise the principal works and operations of the British forces, under the command of major general Wolfe, during the seige of that place in 1759. 29 x 59.

[In Atlantic (The) Neptune. fol. London, F. W. DesBarres, 1780. v. 2. No. 5].

#### 1759.

45. A plan of Quebec, metropolis of Canada in North America. 43/4 x 7.

[In London (The) magazine. 1759. 8°. London, for R. Baldwin. 1759. v. 28. p. 200].

### 1759.

46. A plan of Quebec, metropolis of Canada. T. Phinn, sc.  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ .

[In Scots magazine. 1759. 8°. Edinburgh, Sands, 1759. v. 21. p. 553].

### 1759.

47. Plan of Quebec, the capital of Canada, with the bason and part of the adjacent country shewing the principal encampments and works of the British army commanded by Gen. Wolfe and those of the French army commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Montcalm during the siege of that place in 1759. Manuscript, 28 x 80.

48. A plan of Quebec [&] The port and environs of Quebec, as it was when attacked by the English.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9$ .

[In Universal (The) Magazine. 8°. London, J. Hinton, 1759 v 24. Feb. 1759. opp. p. 92].

#### 1759.

49. Plan of the military and naval operations, under the command of the immortal Wolfe and vice admiral Saunders, before Quebec. To the members of the united service of the British empire, whose daring achievements this plan is designed to commemorate and honor and to whom it is respectfully dedicated, by their obedient servent, Alfred Hawkins. Quebec, 1841. J. Wyld, sculp. Proof. 24½ x 30½. London, published by J. Wyld, 1841.

Note:—Insets "Detail of the action fought on the plains of Abraham, Sept. 13, 1759. View of the death of general Wolfe and storming of the Heights, with historical descriptive text."

### 1759

50. A plan of the operations at the taking of Quebec, and the battle fought near that city, sept. 13, 1759. T. Phinn, sc.  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ .

[In Scots magazine. 1759. 8°. Edinburg, Sands, 1759. v. 21. p. 552].

#### 1759

51. A plan of the river St. Lawrence, from the falls of

Montmorenci to Sillery; with the operations of the Siege of Quebec.  $7 \times 10$ .

[In London (The) magazine. 1759. 8°. London, for R. Baldwin, 1759. v. 28. p. 608].

#### 1759

52. Quebec and its environs, with the operations of the siege drawn from a survey made by orders of admiral Saunders.  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ .

[In Lambert (John) Travels through Canada and the United States. 2nd ed 8°. London, 1813. v. 1. opp. 41].

#### 1759.

53. Quebek de hoofstad van Kanada, aan de rivier van St. Laurens: door de Engelschen belegerd en by verdrag bemagtigd in't jaar 1759. 13 x 17.

[In Hedendaagsche historie of tegenwordige staat van Amerika. 8°. Te Amsterdam, I. Tirion, 1769. v. 3. p. 389].

#### 1759.

54. Siege of Quebec. Plan of the St. Lawrence from the Montmorenci to Sillery. Engraved for Bancroft's History of the United States, by George G. Smith. 5 x 7. [London, E. Bentley, 1852].

### 1759.

55. A view of the taking of Quebeck by the English forces commanded by Gen. Wolfe, Sep. 13<sup>th</sup> 1759. 7 x 10.

[In London (The) magazine. 1760. 8°. London, for R. Baldwin, 1760, v. 49. 280].

56. Montrésor (John). Plan of a route undertaken in winter, Jan. 26<sup>th</sup> from Quebec the capital of Canada to the frontier settlements of the township of Topsham, near Brunswick fort on the river Ammerascaegin in the province of New Hampshire, feb. 20, 1760, Manuscript. 8 x 41.

### 1760.

57. Plan of the battle of the 28th of april, 1760; fought on the heights of Abraham, near Quebec. [From the collection of one of the royal princes, drawn as late as 1789]. Manuscript. 22 x 15.

### 1760.

58. A view of Quebec from the bason,  $6 \times 9 \frac{1}{2}$ .

[In London (The) magazine. 1760. 8° London, for R. Baldwin, 1760. v. 29. p. 393].

### 1761.

59. A perspective view of the city of Quebec, the capital of Canada. 6 x 11.

[In Universal (The) magazine. 8°. London, J. Hinton, 1761. v. 28. p. 113].

## 1761.

60. Plan of the city of Quebeck.  $3 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ .

[In Father Abraham's almanac for the year of our Lord, 1761. By Abraham Weatherwise, gent. 16°. Philadelphia, W. Dunlap, 1761].

61. *Piano* della citta di Quebec. D. Ver. Rossi, sc.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  x  $9\frac{1}{2}$ .

[In Gazzettiere (II) americano. 4°. Livornor, M. Cottellini, 1763. v. 3. p. 69]

## 1763.

62. Plan of Quebec, reduc'd from an actual survey, 1763.

[In Rocque (John, compiler). A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys. 1763. sm. 4°. London, J. Rocque, 1763. No. 1].

## 1764.

63. Plan de la ville de Québec. 8½ x 11.

[In Bellin (Jacques Nicolas). Le petit atlas maritime [etc]. fol. [Paris], 1764. v. 1. No. 9].

# 1769.

64. A plan of the city of Quebec, and its fortifications. J. Gibson, sculp.  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ .

[In World (The) displayed. 3d. ed. 18°. London, for Newberry & Carnan, 1769, v. 5, p. 66].

### 177-.

65. [Plan of the country and fortification opposite to Quebec, including Point Levy.] Manuscript. 16 x 17.

### 1775.

66. Assault upon Quebec.

[In Carrington (Henry B.) Battle maps and charts of the American revolution. 8°. New York, 1881].

67. A plan of Quebec, metropolis of Canada in North America. Aitkin, sculp. 4½ x 7.

[In Pennsylvania (The) magazine: or, American monthly museum, 1775. 8°. Philadelphia, R. Aitken, 1775, v. 1, p. 563].

#### 1775.

68. A view of the rivers Kenebec and Chaudière, with colonel Arnold's route to Quebec. 7 x 4½.

[In London (The) magazine, 1776. 8°. London, for R. Baldwin, 1776, v. 44, p. 480].

## 1775-1776.

69. Environs de Québec, bloqué par les Américains, du 8 décembre 1775 au 13 mai, 1776. 9 x 12. Paris, le Rouge, 1777.

### 1775-1776.

70. Plan of the city and environs of Quebec with its siege and blockade by the Americans, from the 8<sup>th</sup> of Dec. 1775 to the 13<sup>th</sup> of May, 1776. Manuscript 17½ x 25.

# 1775-1776.

71. Plan of the city and environs of Quebec, with its siege and blocade by the Americans, from the 8th of Dec., 1775 to the 13th of May, 1776. Engraved by Wm. Faden. London, W. Faden, Sept. 12, 1776.

[In Atlas of battles of the American revolution. fol. [London, 1770-1793]. No. 2].

## 1775-1776.

72. Plan of the city and environs of Quebec, with its siege and blockade by the Americans, from the 8<sup>th</sup> of Dec. 1775 to the 13<sup>th</sup> of May, 1776. Engraved by Wm. Faden. 17 x 24. London, W. Faden, Sept. 12, 1776.

[In Faden (William, editor). The North American Atlas. fol. London, for W. Faden, 1777. No. 5].

1776.

73. The city of Quebec,  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ .

[Inset Carver (Capt Jonathan and others). A new map of the province of Quebec, according to the royal proclamation of the 7th of Oct., 1763, 19½ x 26¼. London, for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, 1776].

1776.

74. Prospect von Quebec. 6 x 7.

[In Geshichte der kriege in und ausser Europa. 4°. [Nuremburg, 1776 pt. 2].

1777.

75. Plan von Quebec, 51/2 x 7.

[In Geschichte der kriege in und ausser Europa., 4°. Nuremburg, C. N. Raspe, 1777. pt. 3].

1778.

76. Plano della citta di Quebec. 9½ x 9.

[In Atlante dell' America. fol. Livorno, 1778. no. 7].

1778.

77. Quebec. [View]. 7 x 10½.

[In Atlante dell' America. fol. Liverno, 1778. no. 8].

78. A view of Quebec from the bason. Royee, sc.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  x  $8\frac{1}{4}$ .

[In Russell (William). The history of America. sm. 4° London, for Fielding & Walker, 1778. v. 2. p. 364].

### 1780.

79. A view of Quebec from the south east. II x  $21\frac{1}{2}$ .

[In Atlantic (The) neptune. fol. London, F. W. DesBarres, 1780. v. 2. 5½].

# 1787.

80. Sketch of the review of the 5<sup>th</sup>., 26<sup>th</sup>., 31<sup>st</sup>, & 34<sup>th</sup>. regts. and a part of the 1<sup>st</sup> battallion of royal artillery on the plains of Abraham near Quebec, aug. 29, 1787. Manuscript, 25 x 27.

#### 1792.

81. Map of the city of Quebec.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ .

.In Trusler (John). The habitable world described. 8°. London, for the author, 1790. v. 7. front J.

### 1796.

82. *Map* of the city of Quebec.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ . New York, C. Smith.

[In Smith (Charles, of N. Y. d. 1810). The monthly military repository. 8°. New York, for the author, 1796. v. 1. opp. p. 69].

### 1798.

83. A plan of the city of Quebec.  $7 \times 9^{\frac{1}{2}}$ .

[In Weld (Isaac). Travels through the states of North America. 8°. London, 1810. v. 1. p. 342].

84. View of Quebec. Roberts, sc. Published by C. Smith, N. York. 4 x 6½.

[In Morse (Jedidiah). The American gazetteer. 2d. ed. 8°. Charlestown, 1804].

#### 1812.

85. General view of Quebec. Engraved by George Cooke. London, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, oct. 1, 1612. 5 1/4 x 7 1/2.

[In Pinkerton (John). A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels. 4°. London, for Longman, [etc], 1812, p. 396].

### 1813.

86. Plan of the city of Quebec. New York, Prior & Dunning, 1813. 7½ x 8.

[In Smith (D. W.) A gazetteer of the province of upper Canada. 8°. New York, Prior & Dunning, 1813].

### 1813.

87. A view of Quebec from Point Levy. W. Strickland, del. W. Kneaes, sc.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ .

[In Port (The) folio. 3d. series. april, 1813. 8°. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeek, 1813. v. 9. p. 328].

### 1823.

88. Quebec. [View]. 21/8 x 23/4.

[In Worcester (J. E.) Sketches of the earth and its inhabitants. 12°. Boston, Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1823. p. 47].

89. View of Quebec, the capital of British America. W. M. Craig, del. 6 x 8 1/4.

[In Malte-Brun. A system of universal geography. 4°. Boston, S. Walker, 1834. v. 2. p. 20].

### 1842.

90. Plan of the city of Quebec, drawn and compiled from original plans, by A. Larie. 15 x 19. Quebec, W. Cowan & son, 1842.

[In Quebec (The) guide. 18°. Quebec, 1844. at end].

### 1851.

91. Plan of the city of Quebec and its environs. 14 x 20. Quebec, P. Sinclair, 1851.

[In New (The) guide to Quebec and its environs. 16°. Quebec, P. Sinclair, 1851].

#### ENGRAVINGS

1. Abercrombie (Sir Ralph).

8vo. Portrait by Cook and Finder-Another in Royal 8vo. by Meyer.

2. Amherst, (Sir Jeffery), fine mezzotint by Watson, after Sir J. Reynolds, 1800.

Scarce. Catalogued at £4. 4.

3. Amherst (Lord).

8 vo. Portrait by Aliamet.

4. Arnoux, House of Surgeon.

See engraving in the Siege of Quebec.

5. Barré (Col. Isaac), companion of General Wolfe at Quebec, Folio Portrait, engraved by Hall after Stuart, 1787.

Catalogued by Godefroy Mayer, Paris, at \$6 oo.

6. Boscawen (Admiral)

Three Portraits in 8vo. by Ravenet, Townley and another.

7. Bougainville (M. de).

See portrait in "The Siege of Quebec".

8. Bougainville, (Madame Flore de).

See portrait in "The Siege of Quebec".

9. Bougainville (Count of) Adjutant of Montcalm who died in his arms at Quebec. Fine folio lithograph portrait by Belliard [nd.]

- 10. Bougainville (Count of)—8vo. Portraits by Fremy, Mausin, Bauche; another by Boilly, 8vo. His monument by Lafitte—Folio lithograph by Lasalle.
- 11. Cook, (Captain James)—celebrated Navigator, Piloted the Fleet under Wolfe up the St. Lawrence to Quebec in 1759, 8vo.
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- 14. Fraser, (General Simon)—Stipple engraving by W. Nutter after Graham, large oblong folio, 1794. Scarce, Catalogued at £4. 4. o.
- 15. Hale (Colonel).

See portrait in "The Siege of Quebec."

16. Hale (Madame).

See portrait in "The Siege of Quebec."

17. Levis (Marquis de).

See portrait in "The Siege of Quebec."

- 18. Lévis (Marquis de)-8vo. Portrait by Perreau.
- 19. Lowther (Miss Katherine).

See two portraits in "The Siege of Quebec." Ap. III-20

20. Manduit (Israel) Diplomatic Agent in Canada (Mayer). Portrait in 8vo. by Holloway.

See under Books "Apology for the Life of General Wolfe."

21. *Molé* (M.) Chancellor of the law.—Small Folio Portrait in colors—1787–1789—by a well known engraver.

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Note:—See Spurious letters of Montcalm.

22. Monckton (Brigadier General).

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- 23. Monckton (Robert) Governor of New-York.—8vo. Portrait by Millet.
- 24. Montcalm (Marquis de)—8vo. Portrait by Varin.
- 25. Montcalm (Marquis de)—The Death of Montcalm.

Three engravings—Small Folio, finely printed in colors, Engraved by Morret.

Oblong Folio—Engraved by Martini after Watteau—large Folio—by Chevillet.

26. Montcalm, Cuirass of.

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- 27. Montcalm de St-Véran (Louis Joseph, Marquis de)— Line engraving by Chevillet after Watteau, large oblong folio, 1760.
- 28. Montcalm, tomb of

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  Mayer says he participated in the Siege of Quebec.
- 38. Quebec.

  See Model of Quebec in "the Siege of Quebec."
- 39. Quebec, the taking of.

  See curious engraving in "the Siege of Quebec."
- 40. Quebec. A View of the Taking of Quebec, September 13<sup>th</sup> 1759. Vue de la Prise de Québec le 13 Septembre, 1759. 18½ in. long by 12½ tall, with ¼ to ½ inch margin, coloured by hand; together with a copy of the London Magazine reprint.

This is a perspective view, showing in the foreground the British forces being brought from the ships and landed at the foot of the heights. The soldiers are seen scaling the heights contested by the French. At the top the battle is in full progress. The view of the City in the middle ground and the surrounding country is fairly well drawn, but the foreground is ludicrously out of proportion. This rare print is apparently the original from which the reduced copy (10 x 6¾) in the London Magazine, 1760, was made; a copy of which is included with this original now in possession of the authors.

Catalogued by Hy. Stevens, Son & Stiles at £2 10.

- 41. Quebec.—A view—Small Folio, about 1750, very fine.
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- 42. Quebec.—Collection of 40 views of Quebec, the greater part rare, 4to. and folio—

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Picker, View of Spencer Wood with 4 autograph verses by H. Atkinson, 1841, 2 fine Engravings of the Death of Wolfe by Guttenberg and Somebody, and 25 small views by Ronargue, Furne, Schroeder and others.

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- 43. Quebec.—Colored view by Leizelt, about 1775, oblong Folio.
- 44. Two Colored views by Habermann, oblong Folio. Vue de la Haute-Ville, vue de la rue des Recollets.
- 45. Two Colored views by Habermann, oblong Folio. Vue de la Basse-Ville, vue de la Haute-Ville.
- 46. Two rares views by Samson and Dwarzak about 1820, 8vo.
- 47. Quebec.—Foundation of Quebec. Extremely interesting engraving representing some hundreds of Canadian Inhabitants at their occupations. "Paris, chez P. Gallays" about 1670—60 x 30 inches—of greatest rarety, probably unique. It is not mentioned in any bibliographical work.

Below are the following verses:

- " De cet heureux climat le ciel, la terre et l'onde
- " Font naître de quoy vivre et de quoy plaire au monde
- " Içi le voyageur au gré de ses désirs
- "Exerce le commerce ou prend d'autres plaisirs
- " La politesse y règne et la Nouvelle France
- "Emprunte de l'ancienne et le courage et la puissance.

Although this engraving does not come within the confines of this work it was thought well to mention it on account of its great rarety. It was catalogued by G Mayer, Paris, at \$30.

48. Quebec.—Rare colored view by Leizelt, oblong folio, 1770.

Catalogued by Godefroy Mayer, Paris, at \$4,

49. Quebec. — Rare colored views of Quebec in 1829. Complete set of six large and Important Colored Plates, including view of Cape Diamand and Wolfe's Cove, etc., etc. From original drawings by Lieut. Col. Cockburn, aquatinted by Hunt, Bently, Pyall and Stuart, large oblong folio. Ackermann & Co., 1833. Very rare.

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50. Saunders (Admiral).

See portrait of in "The Siege of Quebec."

51. Saunders (Charles)—Vice Admiral of the Blue. Mezzotint, three quarter length, standing, right hand resting on an anchor, folio, Sir J. Reynolds—J. McArdell, 1760.

Catalogued by E. Parsons & Sons, London, at 21 s.

- 52. Saunders (Sir Charles), engraved by Harding, and a nice oval plate by Hulett; two desirable portraits of the Admiral who co-operated with Wolfe in the Conquest of Quebec.
- 53. Saunders. Island of Charles Saunders. Two fine sepia drawings by Ozonne.
- 54. St. Lawrence.—Rare Colored View of the River St. Lawrence, Falls of Montmorency from the Island of

Orleans, open Letter Proof, folio, G. B. Fisher—J. W. Edy, 1795, scarce.

Catalogued by E. Parsons & Sons, London, at £4. 4 s,

55. Townshend (Brigadier General).

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- 56. A perspective view of the City of Quebec, the Capital of Canada, rare old copper plate, 11 x 6, folio.
- 57. View of Quebec, the Capital of Canada, in North America, by Roberts, a very rare print in good condition, 12 x 7½.
- 58. View of the Squadron and Convoy at Sea. Showing 34 vessels.

Published by Captain Richard Gardiner—1760. A copy of this engraving is in the possession of the authors.

59. St. Vincent.

See portrait of Lord St. Vincent in "The Siege of Quebec" and notes to Illustrations.

60. Walsh (Major).

See portrait in "the Siege of Quebec".

- 61. Wolfe (General).—Engraved by T. Miller from Mr. Isaac Gossett's model, rare.
- 62. Wolfe, Gen. James.

See five portraits in "The Siege of Quebec" and references in Notes to Illustrations.

63. Wolfe, Pistols of.

See engraving in "The Siege of Quebec".

64. Wolfe, (General James.)—His death at Quebec. Oblong folio by Guttenberg.

Four other folio engravings all different, by Somebody, Stratford, Guttenberg, Zaffonets Steel Engraving in Folio by Baudel in Berlin.

Large folio engraving by Wollett. Cited by Godefroy Mayer, Paris in his catalogue.

- 65. Wolfe.—The death of General Wolfe. Engraved by Guttenberg. Oblong folio.
- 66. Wolfe, Sword of.

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- 67. Wolfe, (General James)—Killed at Siege of Quebec line engraving by Woollatt, after B. West 1776.
- 68. Wolfe, (General James)—Proof impression with margins in fine condition catalogued at £9.9.0.
- 69. Wolfe, Monument to.

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70. Wolfe.—Memorial Tablets. 3 Interesting Rubbings from Tablets, inscribed Major-Gen. James Wolfe, aged 32 years, 1759, Hon. Lieutenant-Genl. Edward Wolfe died March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1759, aged 74; and Mrs. Henrietta Wolfe, died 26<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1764, aged 60.

These have been catalogued by E. Parsons & Sons, London.

- 71. Wolfe.—View of the House in which General Wolfe resided, 1759, on the Bay of Gaspé, and a view on the Mississippi by Seymour, 1825.
- 72. Wolfe, Coat of.

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73. Vaudreuil, (Marquis de)

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74. Vaudreuil (Marquis de)—8vo., portrait by Maurin and Varin.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## CORRECTIONS.

No.	40	page	8	note,	for d'Allaghan, read O'Callaghan.
_	42	_	9	6.6	for micellaneous, read miscellaneous.
_	68	_	15	6.6	fifth line, for on, read of.
_	70	_	17	6.6	after discover, read is.
	176		44		for Just, read Irish.
_	14		57		for dealth, read death.
	11	_	62	_	Complementing, read complimenting.
*****	16	_	68	_	Moncalm, read Montcalm.
	93	_	80	_	there, read their.
	38	_	92		after letter, read of.
	58	_	98		for tittle, read title.
_	66		100		for drum, read dram.
_	88	_	105		for Robaud, read Roubaud.
_	164	_	122		for Natural, read National.
	165	_	122	_	
	170		124	_	for percipitate, read precipitate.
	7	_	130	—	for of, read by.
_	20		135		for Bogia's, read Borgia's.
	46	_	157	_	for rares, read rare.



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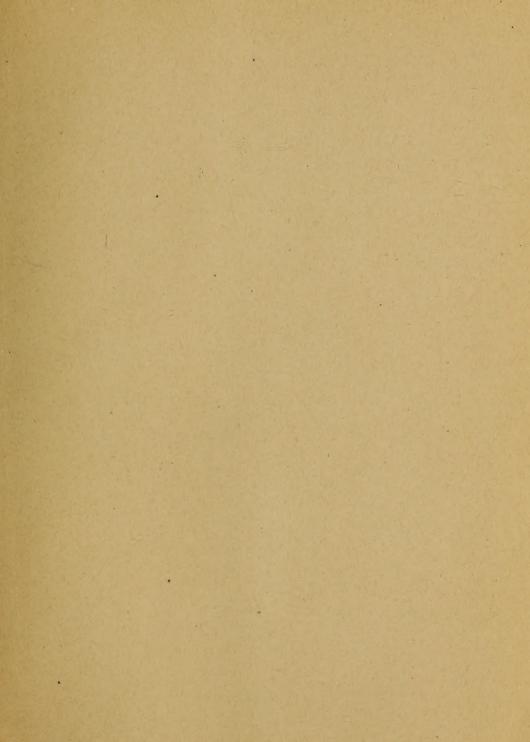
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